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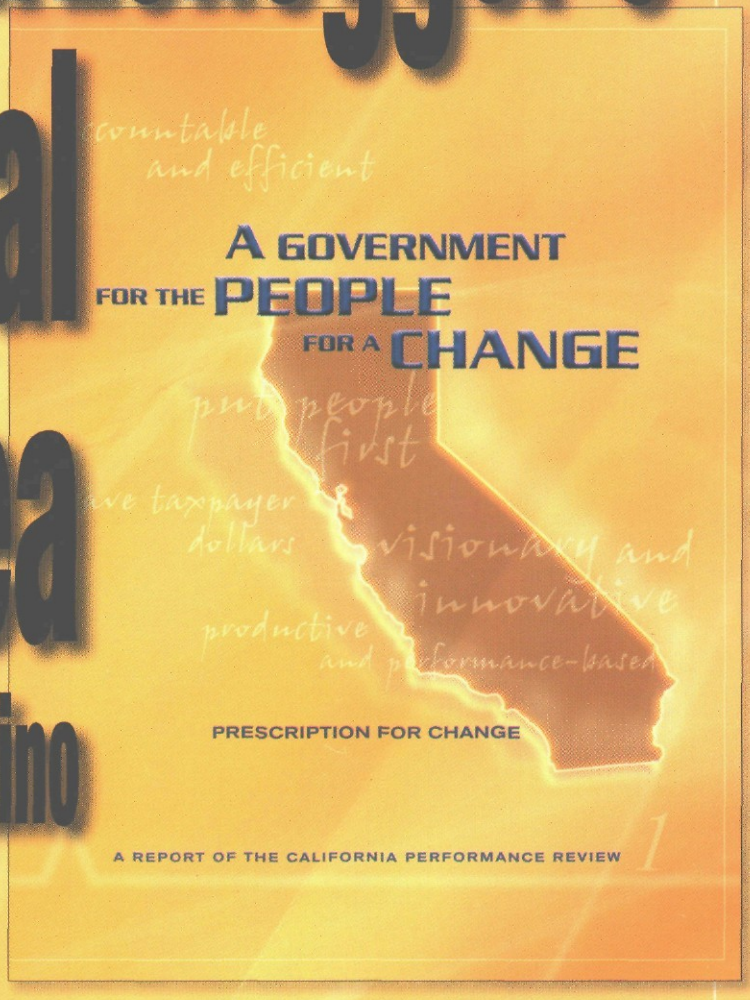
Schwarzenegger's Radical Idea

George M. Passantino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REVIEW

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A PUBLICATION OF THE
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CORRESPONDENCE

On the job training

H. L. Richardson's pre-recall cautions ("Politically Clipped," *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2003) about what to expect from an on-the-job-training governor (remembering Gov. Ronald Reagan's often difficult early years in the corner office) have perhaps been validated by Gov. Schwarzenegger's first budget battle, as reported by Ray Haynes ("Seeking the Narrow Door," *CPR*, July/Aug. 2004). Still, it is good to know that, despite some growing pains, this Republican chief executive, like Reagan, seems both able to learn and headed in the right direction.

George Fredericks
Roseville

Democrats for God and Apple Pie

I was reminded of Sam Paredes' diagnosis ("What you haven't been told about gun control," *CPR*, July/Aug.) of the Sacramento legislative majority — "sick, sick, sick" — several times while watching this summer's national political conventions. It came to mind once, for instance, during the GOP convention, when former Congressman J. C. Watts told MSNBC "Hardball" host Chris Matthews that "the Democrats are conflicted because, early on, the Republicans defined John Kerry. And John Kerry gave Republicans 20 years worth of voting records to define him. And so, right now, they are really struggling. And 60 days out from the election, they are struggling with a real identity problem. They are trying to figure out, who are we? Where do we go in the home stretch of this thing?"

With all due respect to Mr. Watts, I doubt the Democrat leaders who ran their convention are the least bit unsure what or who they are politically. They are the most left-wing generation to afflict either political party ever in our nation's history. That's one "sick."

But the nation won't support who and what they are, so they lie about it — a second "sick." And it is in their lying that their impotence is becoming ever more apparant. They don't know who to *pretend* to be: "progressive"? "Mom and Apple pie"? "Anti-war"? "Pro-American"? Every message that moves left turns voters off; but phony embrace of conservative positions fools fewer people all the time. The mish-mash "message" that results is the third "sick."

I ran across a striking example of this in this year's national Democrat Party Platform (at: *www. dems2004.org*, then "Convention info," then "Party Platform"), the final words of which read: "That is the America we believe in. That is the America we are fighting for. That is the America we will build together — one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

This from the Party that wants to divide the nation by language, culture, skin color, religion, income level, gender, age (have I missed anything?); that wants "under God" removed from the Pledge of Allegiance, along with every acknowledgement of God from every public place (and to define every private place as public); that wants ever increasing restrictions placed on economic and religious liberty, on freedom of speech, of assembly, private property (especially land), and gun ownership; that wants to eliminate the most broadly freeing invention of the era, the family car, and supports only judges contemptuous of rule of law. This group talking about building the America described in the Pledge borders on schizophrenia. These Democrats aren't "conflicted." They're sick.

William Peterson
Anaheim

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Although this is written before the governor has finished signing and vetoing legislation, the clear consensus at the stylish *soirees* and *salons* frequented by your *Spectator* is that the governor and the Republicans ended the legislative session holding all the trump cards.

The Donkey Party was able to advance virtually no significant portion of its agenda, and found itself playing defense much of the time. Yes, this is how it is supposed to work with a Republican governor, but the fact that it indeed turned out this way has pachyderms smiling all around your heat-wilted capital.

Governor Schwarzenegger was aided mightily in this regard by the skill of the GOP leader in the assembly, Kevin McCarthy, and in the state senate, Dick Ackerman. They kept their troops in line when it really mattered. That they could do so, and that the Democrats knew it, immensely strengthened the governor's negotiating hand.

Gil Cedillo's driver licenses for illegals bill was the 800-pound gorilla of the signing/vetoing period. The governor stood his ground, insisting that any such licenses be obviously different to the casual observer. When the Democrats refused to agree, he supplied his promised veto. This issue is such a loser that Democrat refusal to give it up could, by itself, cost them a couple of legislative seats this November. It also demonstrates their slavish devotion to extreme ideology, even to the point of risking electoral backlash.

The governor's willingness to broaden the list of incumbent Democrats he will campaign against (Nicole Para is the latest addition) has also lifted GOP spirits. Lobbyists and other political "innies" who have seen recent private polls tell me not only that the governor's approval numbers continue to be at least thrice those of the Legislature, but also that the question: "Who would you be more likely to believe on a given political issue?" drops the Legislature's percentages into the high teens.

This explains much of the GOP's legislative success toward the end of the recently concluded session. It also explains the fear and loathing infecting Democrat caucuses in both houses. The Democrats have no effective answer or counter-weapon to Governor Schwarzenegger. If he is used effectively by individual GOP campaigns, the election day impact could be enormous.

These dynamics will also come into play with what is already looming as next year's big fight: enactment of the recommendations of the California Performance Review. As long as the current Schwarzenegger/lawmaker popularity ratio holds up, the governor will enjoy enormous leverage — and he'll need it — to overcome what is sure to be fierce, hysterical union opposition to most of the plan.

The Governator's ultimate trump card is the threat to take the entire package — as one initiative — to the voters. The Democrats must avoid that at all costs, at least as long as the polls remain lopsidedly against them.

So ... as exciting as this year has been (and could continue to be on election night in November), the new year promises no shortage of fascinating objects for in-depth *spectating.* As long as the toney taverns and posh porticoes around town continue to provide vital information, I promise unrelenting devotion to ferreting out the truth to pass along to you, faithful readers.

— A. P. C.

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An oppressive solution to a nonexistent problem

Medical professionals targetted by immigration/multilingual proponents.

M. DAVID STIRLING

FEW ISSUES evoke such passionate debate as illegal immigration. The issue is especially contentious in the Golden State, and understandably so: the Immigration and Naturalization Service declares California home to 32 percent of the nation's illegal immigrant population, with their numbers continuing to climb (INS reports California's growing illegal immigrant population increased by 73,200 people on average each year between 1990 and 2000).

Elected officials and organizations demanding that legal residents' rights and privileges be extended to persons in the country illegally are increasingly active. For instance, Democrat members of the Legislature's Hispanic Caucus have staged an unrelenting six-year drive for legislation to grant California drivers licenses to the states' estimated 2.5 million illegal aliens. Even Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's expressed willingness to sign legislation granting "specially-marked" driver licenses to this group — a controversial proposal in itself — does not satisfy these legislators. The measure's leading proponent, Senator Gil Cedillo (D-L.A.), is so adamantly devoted to unmarked drivers licenses for this group that he publicly urged Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante to sign the measure into law while the governor attended the Republican National Convention in New York City.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors has placed a measure on the November 2 ballot that would allow non-citizens to vote in school board elections.

M. David Stirling is vice president of the public interest legal organization, Pacific Legal Foundation. PLF's recently filed a lawsuit on behalf of several medical professionals challenges the legality of the government edict described in this article. For more information on the suit, go to www.pacificlegal.org.

Now these controversies over licenses and voting for illegal immigrants will continue to be debated hotly in public, and will remain subject to democratic political processes by which voters will — directly and indirectly — influence their outcome. The same, however, cannot be said of a federal "immigrant rights" edict quietly issued during the Clinton Administration's waning months that makes the federal government a far more intrusive force with respect to our individual and economic freedoms.

In August 2000, the nation's physicians, clinics, hospitals, and other medical care providers who receive medicare and medicaid reimbursement for treating patients with limited English proficiency (LEP) were ordered to provide to those patients full interpreter and translator services in their own languages. To help put this in perspective, consider that the United States Commission on Civil Rights reports that U.S. residents speak as many as *500* different languages and dialects.

IN ADDITION, these medical care professionals must insure the competency of the medical translation and interpreter services they provide. And even though federal medicare and medicaid reimbursements rarely cover the actual costs of the medical services rendered, the federal government contributes nothing to pay for these mandated language assistance services. Medical care providers are required to bear the *full* financial burden. Under this edict, an LEP person's complaint to federal authorities that the medical professional failed to provide competent language services in his native tongue can trigger a federal investigation, which can lead to loss of federal reimbursement, or worse, a charge of inten-

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THE FRONT LINE

The work has begun

by Ray Haynes

The convention is over. The work has begun. As of this writing, Kerry is in full collapse. Bush is finding his voice, enjoying a lead in the polls (a rarity for any Republican this early in the race), and the governor is fully engaged in the California campaigns. The question is what this means for Republicans.

I remember a conversation I had with a Republican operative in 2001 who was trying to convince me to support Richard Riordan for governor. He said appointments were the key; a Republican governor would make sure the bureaucracy would be kept under control.

My response was: I know politics is a team sport, like football, and I am happy to be a lineman on the team as long as I had a quarterback in the corner office who would throw the football to our team. Riordan was definitely not that kind of quarterback.

I supported Arnold Schwarzenegger for governor despite my fear that he would sometimes throw the ball to the other team because the recall was not a primary fight; it was winner take all. Conservatives had started the recall fight; they had to win it. In my opinion, my colleague, Sen. Tom McClintock, did not have the wherewithal to finish the race first, but he had enough to cost the election.

I believed the long-term health of the conservative movement in California depended on winning the election, and that only Schwarzenegger could win on our team. By and large, we have not been hurt (too badly) by most Republicans' decision to back Schwarzenegger. This governor gets better as time goes on, but he can cause conservatives a lot of grief along the way.

Another question — this one for conservatives: whither do we go post-election? Bush is still a question mark. Much of his first term was spent trying not to lose re-election, employing, in the White House's wisdom, a strategy of avoiding emphasizing conservative domestic issues. He has been consistent in the war on terror (a good thing), but less reliable on the economic and freedom issues. He has been good on family issues, bad on immigration, but, on balance, deserves conservative support.

The jury is still out on Schwarzenegger (although he just signed the .50 caliber ban, a stupid law, since no crime has ever been committed with a .50 caliber rifle), and post-election we shall see.

In the end, conservatives will gain ground in this election if the current Republican trend continues. Stronger Assembly and Senate Republican caucuses appear likely, an outcome that could produce further deep cracks and fissures in Sacramento's liberal political landscape, terrain already fractured by the recall. A continuing weakening of the liberal grip on the Capitol would open up lots of tantalizing possibilities. Also, the California Republican Party is on the rebound, mainly due to the efforts of conservatives.

The establishment of the California Club for Growth, headed by soon-to-be former Assemblyman Tony Strickland, also promises to be one of the turning points in the conservative movement in California.

All in all, in the words of a famous movie character, "We're baaack."

CPR

Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

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tional "national origin" discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — a charge that can result in the doctor or hospital being labeled as racist.

No act of Congress brought about this monumental change in law and public policy. The nation's doctors, hospitals, and other directly-affected health care providers and associations never even had an opportunity to voice objections to this oppressive solution to a nonexistent problem, which took effect as soon as the order was issued.

So how did a bureaucracy-bloated federal agency manage to intrude itself directly into the age-old relationship between doctor and patient by dictating how they must communicate? In July 1997, President Bill Clinton nominated civil rights activist Bill Lann Lee as assistant attorney general for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Justice. Lee's aggressive — many considered it extreme — civil rights record scared off members of the Republican-controlled Senate, who denied him confirmation. Other than a recess appointment, which would have lasted only a few months, there was no other legal means by which Lee could be seated as head of the civil rights division at the Department of Justice. Nonetheless, at the president's insistence, Lee was sworn in and became the government's chief civil rights lawyer. When asked how Lee could serve in that capacity when there was no constitutional or statutory basis, Clinton tacitly admitted the illegitimacy of his act by responding: "I have done my best to work with the United States Senate in an entirely constitutional way. But we had to get somebody into the Civil Rights Division."

A pro-immigrant activist and vigorous proponent of multilingual policies, Bill Lann Lee immediately set out to insure that the nation's LEP immigrant population — especially the 8 to 12 million people in the country illegally — would be spoken to in their native tongues by participants in federally-funded programs. Because Republicans controlled Congress, Lee had to find a way to accomplish his mission outside of Con-

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

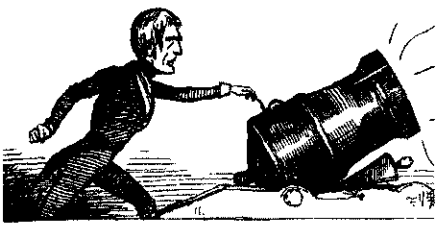
By SAM PAREDES

History has seen some phenomenal hoaxes pulled on the public: Orson Wells' infamous *War of the Worlds* radio broadcast, which convinced thousands of Americans the United States was being invaded from outer space; the mysterious crop circles that appeared overnight on British farms and were taken for extraterrestrial signs of some kind; and how about Sasquatch (aka Bigfoot) in the Pacific Northwest?

A good hoax nearly always contains some element of believability, one that leaves a haunting doubt even after the whole business is exposed as fake, a suspicion that just maybe the hoax is true though one's own senses say otherwise.

That sort of hoax is fun, but a new hoax going around — the story that John Kerry is a hunter and friend of the Second Amendment — is no fun at all. In fact, it's a sign of campaign desperation (not to mention liberal certitude that America's sportsmen are dumb enough to fall for just about anything). John Kerry, running around in bib overalls, checkered flannel shirts, and floppy-eared fuzzy hunting cap, is reminding people of Johnny Carson's goofball Midwest hunter. The only thing as unbelievable as Kerry's outfit is the message that goes with it:

"I go out with my trusty 12-gauge double-barrel, crawl around on my stomach. I track and move and decoy and play games and try to outsmart them. You know, you kind of play the wind. That's hunting," said Kerry, according to Craig Gilbert writing in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* ("Bringing candidate to life," July 5, 2004).



This comment brings the house down with real sportsmen. He's talking about deer hunting, but it sounds more like Elmer Fudd and Bugs during Wabbitt Season. Hunting deer with a shotgun! — double-barreled, of course, to get the varmint with the second blast if he manages to dodge the first.

For the record: John Kerry's senate votes give him a perfect score from every anti-gun, anti-hunting, and animal rights group known to exist. His record with Gun Owners of America and the NRA is also a perfect zero, F minus.

American sportsmen have a better chance of tracking down Sasquatch than of finding a political friend in John Kerry. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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gress's reach. For that, he used the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Act prohibits "discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" against any person in the United States "on the grounds of race, color, or national origin." (Title VI.) By expanding the traditional meaning of the term "national origin" to include "language" — a different concept which Congress could have written into the Act in 1964 or at any time since, but did not — in short order Lee had created a new form of discrimination that could be enforced under the Act. Once "language" became synonymous with "national origin," Lee knew that his goal of forcing participants in federally-funded programs to provide multilingual services would be accomplished.

On August 11, 2000, President Clinton signed Executive Order 13166, codifying Lee's expanded definition of "national origin." Three weeks later, pursuant to the Executive Order, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services issued without fanfare its "Policy Guidance on the Prohibition Against National Origin Discrimination As It Affects Persons With Limited English Proficiency," mandating that medical professionals treating medicare and medicaid patients provide full language services to LEP persons.

Dr. Jane Orient, M.D., executive director of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, recently expressed the profound concern this federal mandate presents for medical professionals:

> Medicare was promised as a method to help senior citizens pay their bill. To get the bill passed, the government promised never, ever to interfere with the practice of medicine. The language rule is yet one more attempt to dictate the way that physicians care for patients. If physicians accept payment through a federal program, the federal government claims the authority to tell them how they must communicate with patients who may not be proficient in English.
>
> The rules are so broad and vague that physicians will never be sure that they are in compliance. Thus, the government claims the right to judge, months or years later, whether communication was satisfactory.
>
> Communication is, of course, essential to good patient care. Physicians use various methods to help understand patients' problems and to explain the diagnosis and treatment to patients. If a large number of LEP patients speak a particular language, the physician may hire bilingual staff, or the patient may choose to see a physician who speaks their language, or bring a person of their choice to interpret for them. There is no evidence that these traditional, time-tested methods are inadequate, or that bureaucratic rules or paid professional interpreters will improve patient outcomes.
>
> It is never possible to be sure that communication is optimal, even when the patient is a native speaker of English. This rule gives patients who claim lack of English proficiency grounds to sue the doctor any time there is a less than perfect outcome, complaining of failure to comply with the federal rule. This requires physicians to divert attention and resources from efforts that they think serve patients best in order to attempt to satisfy federal officials.
>
> In order to keep their doors open, physicians must be able to pay their bills. They cannot afford to routinely see patients at a cost that exceeds the fee they are allowed to charge. Thus, every unfunded government mandate reduces the availability of medical services to the neediest patients.

Once, Americans were a people who warmly welcomed immigrants from all over the world, while gently encouraging and embracing the learning of English. Today, our government mandates that non-English-speaking, indigent, mostly-illegal immigrant

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patients be spoken to in their native language by the nation's physicians and hospitals, while it investigates and prosecutes medical professionals it decides have not complied with the government's order.

Today, it's the medical professionals. Who will it be next? CPR

THE WORKING PRESS

September Meltdown

Dan Rather and CBS: serving as a Democrat clearinghouse for a third-rate forgery.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

SEPTEMBER USHERED in the Fall of Dan Rather. A Texas native, Rather got hopelessly entangled in a controversy involving Texas Democrats, not much of a surprise since a few years ago Rather was raising money for Texas Democrats. Rather appeared as the star guest at a 2001 fundraiser for the Travis County Democratic Party in Texas.

Careful chroniclers of Rather's career arc thought he had finally found his vocation. But Rather insisted that he had no idea he was helping raise $20,000 for the Democrats. Rather's fabled reporting instincts vanished prior to the event. "I didn't ask the question, and I should have," he said, explaining his ignorance of the event's fundraising purpose, though he did acknowledge to Howard Kurtz in the *Washington Post* that "When I got there, I was very aware that it was a fundraising event" and spoke anyway.

Rather couldn't believe anyone would see him as a natural fundraiser for the Democratic Party. But somehow Texas Democrats thought him suitable for the role. His daughter Robin Rather, a prominent liberal environmentalist in Texas, also envisioned her father as a Democratic draw at the fundraiser. She helped host it.

After the 60 Minutes II debacle, Rather again played dumb about lending a hand to Texas Democrats. While scrupulous CBS rules prohibited him from raising funds for Travis County Democrats, they didn't stop him from serving as a stooge for clumsy attacks on Bush's National Guard service in Texas. Rather's career is now complete: he has gone from nipping at the heels of Richard Nixon for a third-rate burglary to serving as the Democrats' clearinghouse for a third-rate forgery.

Nixon had Rather's number when he asked him famously if he was "running" for something. Rather was. He has never been honest enough to run for office for the Democrats but he has been running media campaigns for them. "When you start talking about a liberal agenda and all the 'liberal bias' in the media, I don't know what you're talking about," Rather has said in between writing articles for the *Nation,* one of the most radical leftist magazines in the country, and gushing to Bill Clinton, "If we could be one-hundredth as great as you and Hillary Rodham Clinton have been in the White House, we'd take it right now and walk away winners."

Jonathan Klein, a former CBS executive, defended Rather's September meltdown by asking Americans if they trust anti-Rather bloggers — a "guy sitting in his living room in his pajamas writing" — over a veteran newsman and a venerable media organization. The American people are choosing the blogger in his pajamas. Klein's remark epitomizes the empty credentialism, bogus authority, and insular disdain that has made CBS so off-putting to ordinary Americans. The American people can see that their aging media emperors don't even have pajamas on. Did bloggers give us the Jayson Blairs and Janet Cookes, the phony documents of Seymour Hersh, the Dateline car blow-ups, 1970s documents miraculously typed out on 1990s computers?

Rather hid behind this whitened sepulcher of credentialed news for decades. But the game is up, just as Bernard Goldberg warned Rather. Goldberg predicted

Mr. George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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to his CBS colleagues that they would lose their credibility unless they corrected their bias. Goldberg, recall, was expected to be a correspondent on 60 Minutes II, but Rather denied him the job after Goldberg wrote a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed arguing that habitual liberal bias at the networks would lead to their gradual oblivion (with cable news beating CBS in ratings during the Republican convention, Goldberg's prediction is already coming true).

Rather has ended his career with the same liberal bias that began it. Goldberg told him the world was changing and would call him out on it but he was too blinded by bias to look.

♣ ♣ ♣

Michiko Kakutani described Bill Clinton's memoirs as "eye-crossingly dull" and "self-indulgent." But after her *New York Times* review generated a backlash amongst the illuminati, the paper scrambled to post on its website a positive review of the book. Appropriately, the *Times* found for the task a fiction writer, a spinner of tall tales like *Lonesome Dove* – Larry McMurtry.

According to press reports, McMurtry's review wasn't supposed to appear until July, but the *Times* had to slap it up quickly to stop the bleeding from the Kakutani review. McMurtry claimed, we hope with irony, that the book is "the richest American presidential autobiography" ever. "I happen to like long, smart, dense narratives and read 'My Life' straight through, happily," a claim as credible as the previous one.

McMurty had to admit that his speed reading didn't yield much insight into the man. He writes, "I may not know Bill Clinton any better than I did when I started, but I know recent history better, which surely can't hurt." Straining hard to talk about everything but the prose in the book, McMurty tried to romanticize Clinton for having written it in "longhand." "Had Clinton become our Balzac, working all night at his office up in Harlem ...?" he wonders.

Clinton's Balzacian prose included itemizing his diet during his Georgetown days: "At lunch, I splurged to thirty cents. Half of it bought a Hostess fried pie, apple or cherry; the other half went for a sixteen-ounce Royal Crown Cola. I loved those RCs and was really sad when they quit producing them" – perhaps the most honest moment in the book.

Less than certain

It certainly is less than certain

That the Kerry cry, "Halliburton,"

Though it sounds an alarm

It will do so much harm

That on Bush it will ring down the curtain.

Technology has nearly done in

An out-of-date fellow named Lyn.

When it comes to high tech

His mind is a wreck

And he hardly knows where to begin.

(Lyn Nofziger's "Musings" — www.lynnofziger.com — which publishes Joy Skilmer's verse, recently announced that people who actually know about computers are "going to update and fancy up this web page .... make a full-fledged blogger out of me," and "bring me into the world of modern communications technology.")

— by Joy Skilmer*

♣ ♣ ♣

The media still can't take yes for an answer. Journalists grew impatient with the "moderate façade" of the GOP convention in New York City, despite the fact they have spent decades demanding that the Republican Party embrace "moderation." Suddenly the journalists wanted the true believers to speak. They made the same plea at the Democrat convention but in that case they wanted to build up the true believers. At the Republican convention they wanted the true believers to speak so that they could tear them down.

Would that it were merely a moderate GOP

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available at both Barnes and Noble.com and Amazon.com and from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www.lynnofziger.com*

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"façade." Don't worry, elite journalists: the PC moderation in the GOP is all too real. Maria Shriver is one of the few journalists to realize that the GOP's "moderate façade" isn't one. She can sit happily at a Republican convention now that the Party's philosophy on domestic issues is so pallid her husband's social liberalism isn't even an issue anymore. A hodgepodge of pragmatism — as illustrated by Arnold Schwarzenegger saying that he learned free-market economics from Richard Nixon, the president who gave us price controls — has replaced any sort of rigorous philosophical conservatism.

John McCain says the "platform" is something you "stand on" during the convention and run away from during the campaign. Even that cynicism is *passé:* Republicans don't even bother to stand on it during the convention anymore. The Republicans made it clear at the convention that they would, to their credit, fight the war on terrorism but they won't fight the cultural one. The Republicans have internalized most of their opponents' liberal attitudes on social issues. The Sex and the City culture the Dems have worked hard to mainstream has become the cultural air both parties breathe. The president's daughter, with her Sex and the City attempted witticisms, managed to progress even beyond the media progressives, some of whom commented on her conspicuous lack of taste and dignity.

THE ADMIXTURE of conservative and liberal currents at the convention was conveyed by Schwarzenegger laughing about "girlie men," then Laura Bush praising them. She spoke of a "dad whose wife is deployed in Iraq recently" and his "struggles to rear his three children alone," one of which is that he, through defective laundry techniques, is turning his childrens' clothing pink. Shouldn't this story have warmed the hearts of journalists who want the mothers and daughters of America sent to war? Or is a story about a father inept at laundry too old-fashioned for their ears? CPR

ON CAMPUS

'Butterbean' Moore

Califonia College Republicans resist a campus invasion by the Ayatollah of Idiots.

MICHAEL P. DAVIDSON

WE TAKE you to a boxing ring located on a college campus somewhere in California: "Ladies and gentlemen, now presenting to you, weighing in at 363 pounds, the King of Conspiracy Theories, Ayatollah of Idiots, Crony of Commies, Fat-man of Flint, Leader of Liars, Furor of Fraud, Master of the Misguided, Duper of Documentaries, and Faker of Facts, being led in by his trainer, Che Guevara, and cut-man, Karl Marx ... Michael "Butterbean" Moore ..."

Cheers from professors, administrators, bureaucrats, and temporarily brainwashed students drown out the jeers in the arena. Beers thrown from the crowd drench the Monster from Michigan.

"And, now, weighing in at an average of 180 pounds, the Fighters for Freedom, Guardians of a Generation, Conscience of Conservatives, Generals of Justice, Ringleaders of the Right, Titans of Truth, Soldiers of Swagger, Lovers of Limited Government, and the Future of a Nation — led in by their trainer, Ronald Wilson Reagan, and cut-man, Abraham Lincoln ... the California College Republicans."

Jeers pour over the young fighters who nonetheless, with moxie and tenacity, enter the ring.

Michael Moore Puts on the Gloves

Michael "Butterbean" Moore first waddled onto

Recent University of California, Berkeley, graduate Michael P. Davidson is serving his second term as state chairman of the California College Republicans (www.collegegop.org).

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the California college scene in the fall of 2003 at Occidental College, a highly intellectual and reputable academic institution. But like most other academic institutions, Occidental's politics is leftist — so leftist it is occasionally known *not* to fly the American flag on campus while proudly flying the flag of the United Nations. Occidental College's Assistant Dean of Students Earic Peters threw Michael Moore's first punch, arranging Moore's campus appearance in the fall of 2003 (at the price tag of $20,000, paid from alumni donations and student tuition). To date, Moore's bombast has *not* been balanced by a speech from any prominent conservative.

So — ding, ding, ding! With the help of liberal administrators at a private school, Michael Moore wins that round.

CRs Swing Back

Occidental College Republicans, wiping the sweat off of their faces, countered by conducting an independent inventory of Occidental's professors and found out that liberals make up 97 percent of the faculty — and this is a campus that prides itself on diversity.

The Oxy CRs publicized their findings and turned up the heat on the administrators by demanding the university offer a more balanced education. And as a result, two new classes are listed in the fall 2004 class catalog on conservative philosophy and taught by conservative professors. Persuading a leftist administration to offer a course on conservative thought, taught by conservatives no less, is an almost unprecedented accomplishment. Granted, that makes only two diamonds in a sea of coal; but they *are* diamonds. Given enough pressure, even coal turns to diamond. It's enough to make Butterbean Moore weak in the knees.

Bobbed and Weaved by a Double Standard

So a bloodied Butterbean swings again, this time at California State University, Sacramento. Sacramento College Republicans found out that UNIQUE — an Associated Students, Inc., (ASI) program funded by student fees — was set to show Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* on campus on September 15. ASI, by the way, in spring 2004 was invited to a "Support our Troops" rally commemorating America's Armed Forces and marking the fall of Saddam Hussein. The group declined on grounds that the event was too political, divisive, and in possible violation of their tax status.

UNIQUE's tax status is 501(c)(3). According to the IRS website, such an organization "... may not attempt to influence legislation as a substantial part of its activities and it may not participate at all in campaign activity for or against political candidates." Clearly, Moore's movie is part of the campaign against President Bush. But when two Sacramento College Republicans, Adam Willoughby and Jeffrey Allen, sent letters citing the tax code violation and saying that showing the film was blatantly biased and unfair, they were rebuffed. Dean Sorensen, CSUS Student Union program director, replied with a letter "respectfully [declining]" the request to stop the screening. To Sorensen, *Fahrenheit 9/11* is as politically innocent as *Shrek 2, Spiderman 2,* or *X-Men.*

"I know that feelings run high during the election season," Sorensen wrote, "but we can't just suspend programs with viewpoints that are frustrating for some. We are in the business of bringing programs of interest to the campus; people have to form their own opinions about the fairness and accuracy of what is being presented." Of course, given the opportunity to support our troops, that view was nowhere to be found.

The Sacramento College Republicans lost the battle to stop the film, but continue the fight to hold the school accountable. They may pursue a lawsuit. In the meantime, they attracted substantial attention on campus, registered voters, and recruited volunteers sympathetic to their cause. They also passed out fact sheets to rebut the arguments advanced in the film. In the end, challenging the student government and administration made them stronger, tougher, and smarter.

Moved Like a Butterfly, Stung Like a Bee

Michael Moore is also trying to appear at California State University, San Marcos. This financially-strapped, student-fees-hiking, complaining-about-budget-cuts university tried to bring in Butterbean at a price of more than $37,000. Well, no, to be fair, his speaking fee was $25,000, but the cost of a Moore speech also includes $12,500 for use of the Escondido Center for Performing Arts facility the University uses for such large events, and then there's travel expenses and security, bringing the tab for Moore to substantially more than an already whopping $37,000. In California's tough financial times, one must wonder about the CSU's financial priorities.

The Associated Students, Inc., (ASI) originally planned to allocate $15,000. But, of course, they could not afford it, so they began negotiations with a liberal ally, Dean of Students Jonathan Pollard. The ASI persuaded Pollard to allow ASI to kick in $6,750, and Pollard agreed to raise some of the rest. The uni-

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versity's arts and lectures budget for intercultural speakers was going to throw in some money, along with the Office of the President and — believe it or not — a corporate sponsor, the Mission Federal Credit Union. Leftists don't mind so-called evil corporations that serve their interests, and neither, so it appears, does Michael Moore when he's enjoying spending their money in his corporate jet, drinking his Starbuck's lattes, or driving around in his limo.

CSU San Marcos was determined to find the money to pay Moore by any means necessary ... until the College Pugilists caught wind of the scheme.

The San Marcos College Republicans, led by Chapter President Ashley Stuart and CCR Co-Chair Stephen Puetz, threw the "No Moore" lobby into overdrive. They campaigned against ASI on the grounds that (1) the school could not afford Moore's extravagant fee and (2) bringing Moore to campus hardly contributes to academic veracity or, without a counter-balancing conservative or Republican voice, to campus intellectual diversity. At first, the College Republicans made little progress. ASI surprised no one by voting 13 to 3 to allocate the funding. (The ASI president is the Palestinian-born ex-president of the Progressive Activist Network on campus who admits watching *Al-Jazeera* as her *primary* news source — no joke.)

The lefties and Moore's minions were fighting hard, but College Republicans were tenacious. They hit the newspapers, scheduled appearances on Rick Roberts' radio talk show in San Diego, collected more than 150 signatures on a petition, appeared on the local CBS affiliate, and wrote a letter to University President Karen S. Haynes. We don't know what happened behind the scenes, but President Haynes put a brake on the Moore bandwagon in a September 13 e-mail:

"Universities are about the exchange of ideas." Haynes wrote. "Some ideas are uncomfortable, but being exposed to them is how we become confident in our own beliefs and values. That said, however, it is important that discussions be balanced. The University recognizes the need to present diverse points of view."

That stance is not at all typical of what we find at most universities. Moore's exclusive, pre-election appearance on campus remains a matter of intense lobbying and debate at California State University, San Marcos, but, for the moment anyway, it is off the schedule. One ding and a half — College Republicans so far are winning this round.

Keep on Swinging

And so it goes. The College Republican Pugilists confront Butterbean Moore and Leftie Academia at every turn, challenging leftist bias, conspiracy theories, and brainwashing with intellectual diversity and freedom of thought. The chant "USA, USA, USA!" will continue to send Butterbean Moore plummeting to the mat. And even when we lose, we gain some pretty well trained fighters for our cause in a battle of ideas that we will fight to the finish. CPR

THE LAW

There they go again

State courts a lawsuit with its borrowing binge for puffed-up pensions.

HAROLD JOHNSON

Was it Freud, Jung — or maybe Professor Irwin Corey ("the world's foremost authority") — who defined "insanity" as "trying the same thing over and over again and expecting different results"?

As part of the 2004 state budget, California lawmakers included a pension-funding scheme that's a clone of one that was ruled illegal just 12 months ago. The new plan is to float up to $2 billion in long-term

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bonds ... without voter approval. That's the same as the old plan: Last year's formula for $2 billion in "pension obligation bonds" also ignored the electorate. Consequently, last year's bonds were struck down by a Sacramento Superior Court judge.

The state constitution isn't vague on these matters: Article 16, section 1 says the state can't borrow more than $300,000 without approval by voters at a statewide election. This sensible rule is meant to give taxpayers a say in fiscal matters, and to deter politicians from becoming addicted to debt.

Government employees enjoy 'defined benefit' plans that guarantee retirement checks at prescribed, predetermined levels regardless of how the stock market or other financial instruments perform.

STATE OFFICIALS offer a neat excuse for dispensing with constitutional restraints when it comes to the funding of pensions. Financing a pension system is itself a constitutional requirement, they point out. Therefore, they argue, they shouldn't be obstructed by procedural hurdles, even one that has been in the state constitution since 1849. In other words, the defense of "necessity" and "efficiency." It's an ominous line of reasoning; followed down its logical path, it would permit state pols to ignore other taxpayer protections that proved inconvenient. For example, new taxes could be foisted on us without a two-thirds vote of legislators as long as the proceeds were earmarked for government retirees.

If, as is likely, this year's no-vote bonds meet the same fate in court as last year's no-vote bonds, the public might be stuck with the litigation costs. A court could order the state to reimburse the successful challengers for their attorneys' fees.

The dubious purpose of the bonds also deserves attention: To prop up a gold-plated retirement system. Nationwide, pension plans covering 16 million state and local government employees "owe an incredible $366 billion more in pension benefits to current and future retirees than the money stashed away to pay for them," according to *Fortune* magazine, citing Wilshire Associates, a Santa Monica-based pension consultancy. California politicians have been in the thick of the race to buy favor from government unions with benefits that often far outstrip those available in private employment.

A typical private-sector employee must monitor the performance of his 401-K account, in the hope that it will eventually grow large enough to yield income for a decent retirement. Government employees, in California and many other states, don't have that worry. They enjoy "defined benefit" plans that guarantee retirement checks at prescribed, predetermined levels (often with annual inflation adjustment), regardless of how the stock market or other financial instruments perform over the years.

California lawmakers are resorting to borrowing because the payouts that have been promised to government workers have become unaffordable without deep cuts in other programs or significant new taxes. The California Public Employees Retirement System supports 816 people who make more than $100,000 a year in pension payments, and the California State Teachers Retirement System has 427 such people, according to the *Los Angeles Daily News*. A new tier in the pension system for public-safety workers provides payments at 90 percent of an employee's salary after 33 years.

State Sen. Tom McClintock, R-Thousand Oaks, points out that, "The average family, who probably doesn't have a pension of their own, will pay $300 in taxes next year just to support the state's public pension system." If you remember how the Soviet Union operated, you might be reminded of the *nomenklatura:* the privileged class who lived in an exalted social stratum, with benefits unavailable to people who weren't linked up with the government and the Party.

Reining in public-sector pensions — by having new hires make do with 401-K accounts like the rest of us — is essential if the state is going to stave off fiscal ruin in the long run. It might also end what may be becoming an annual exercise: judges throwing key portions of the state's fiscal plan out the window as unconstitutional.

As Professor Irwin Corey warned, "If we don't change direction soon, we'll end up where we're going." CPR

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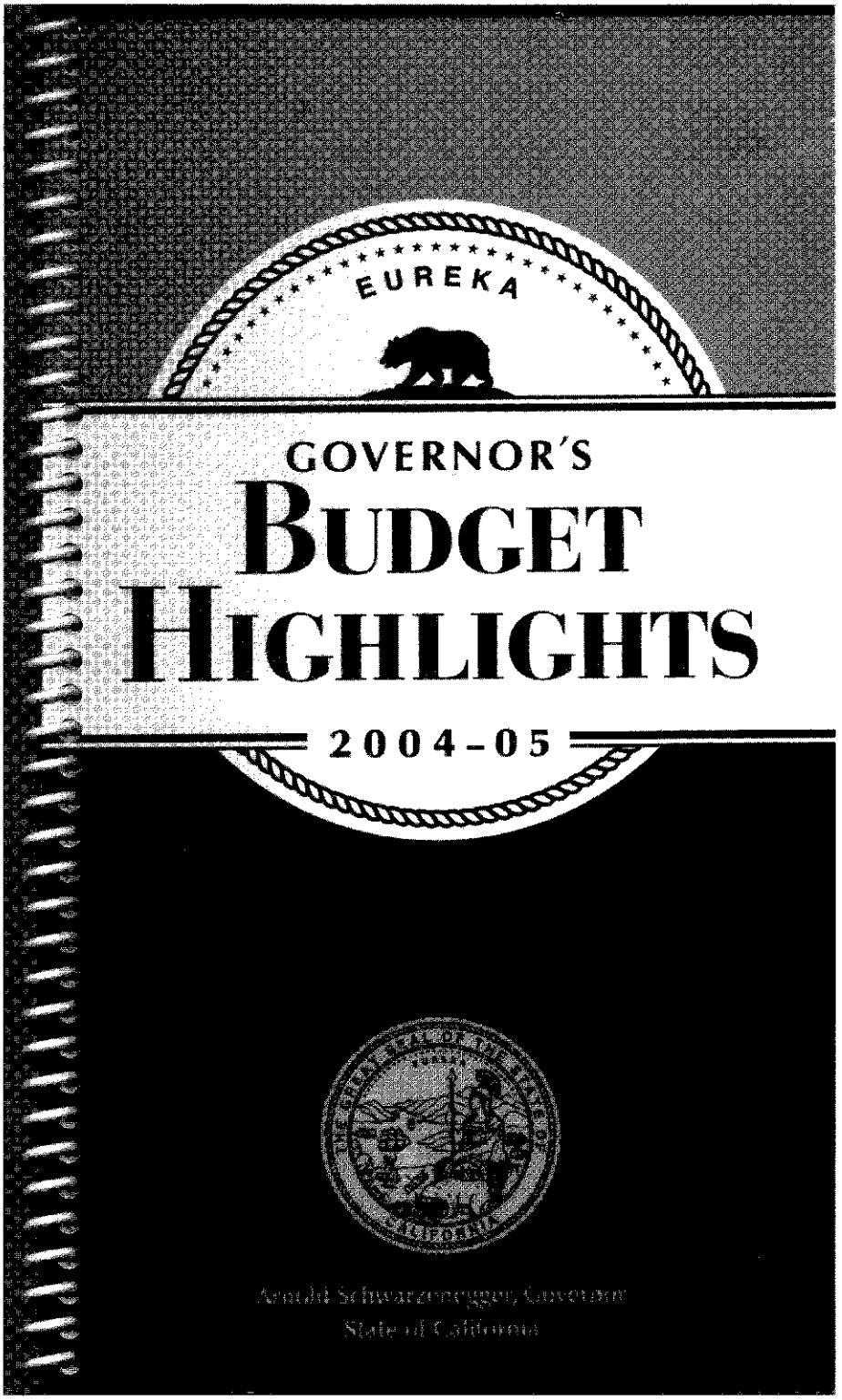
BUDGET ENDGAME



The 04-05 budget: Republicans held the line on tax and fee increases, achieved a degree of protection for local governments, kept spending increases down ... *and* engaged the governor in the electoral process.

Ray Haynes

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It took a month, the Democrats missed their national convention, and nothing changed, except nobody trusts Fabian Nunez anymore, and Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger understands he needs a Republican majority in the Legislature. All in all, the 04-05 budget fight was a net win for Republicans.

To recap, the state began the year 2004 with a $48 billion deficit. Gray Davis, in five short years had managed to create a deficit equal to the entire 1996-97 budget, and only $9 billion short of the size of the budget the year he took office. It was a pretty amazing accomplishment, and left some people wondering how he could screw things up so quickly. The answer is easy: his Democrat friends in the Legislature wanted to spend the money, and he didn't have the will to fight them. He knew it could be a problem. In fact, he said so in the 1999-2000 and the 2000-01 budget cycles. He claimed he was setting aside "half" of the surpluses in those years for "future" budget problems. Had he really set that money aside, he would have survived the budget messes of 01-02, 02-03, and 03-04. Instead, he went along as the Democrat-dominated Legislature voted to spend each accumulated surplus the very next year, so that when the 02-03 budget rolled into town calling for spending levels far above then-current revenue, the surpluses of the past that might have covered the shortfall were gone. Davis's answer was to raise $4 billion in illegal car taxes and borrow $10 billion to get through the 02-03 and 03-04 budgets. Before the 04-05 budget was presented, he was recalled.

Enter Arnold Schwarzenegger. Elected November 7, 2004, by the end of November he is told he has a $48 billion problem. His solutions: cut $4 billion from the 03-04 budget, and reduce the spending projections in the 04-05 budget by $14 billion. Finally, he proposed borrowing $15 billion long-term (to pay off the short-term loans Davis had incurred) and cap spending. By the end of December, the Democrat-controlled Legislature approved the borrowing, refused to approve the cuts, and proposed a balanced budget requirement, rather than a real spending cap. The voters approved the balanced budget and borrowing plans in March 2004.

By May 2004, Schwarzenegger was still facing a sizable deficit — around $25 billion when revenue and spending adjustments were made — and legislative Democrats remained rigidly opposed to cutting anything. Schwarzenegger decided to ignore the Legislative leaders, and made agreements with the interests groups in education and local government to reduce some of the major obstacles to balancing spending with revenue. He then proposed several other cuts to health and welfare and state bureaucracy to achieve budget balance. By and large, it was this May Schwarzenegger budget that was adopted, after the Democrats once again eliminated all the cuts and added about $2

Total Inherited Debt

Accumulated Deficit Through 2002-03[1/]	$ 9.3 billion
Operating Deficit in 2003-04[1/]	3.0 billion
Total Accumulated Deficit[1/]	$12.3 billion
Effect of Prior Decisions After 2003-04	9.8 billion
Total Inherited Debt	$22.1 billion

1/ In November, the audit projected accumulated deficit through 2002-03 at $10.6 billion, operating deficit in 2003-04 at $4.3 billion, and total accumulated deficit at $14.9 billion. Since then, natural revenue growth and expenditure decreases have exceeded expectations.

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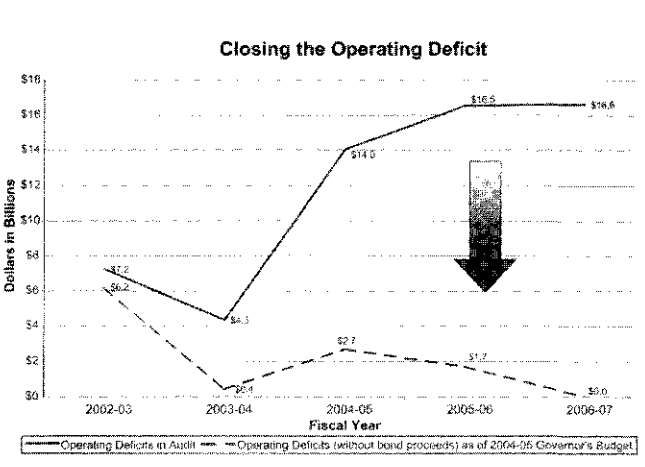
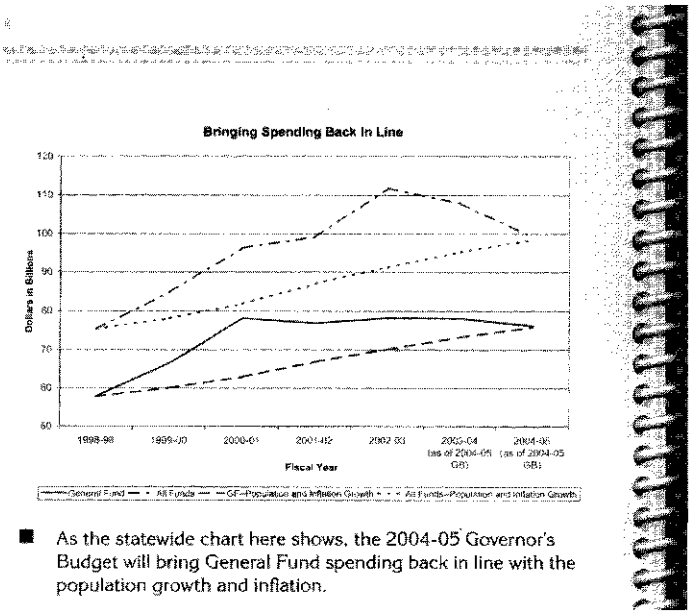
billion in extra spending. Adding it up, the budget is balanced in the current budget year, and about $5 billion out of balance for 05-06 (according to projections). That is about $43 billion in budget solutions in one year. Not bad for a start. When the savings from the governor's California Performance Review process are added in, California's budgets could be in balance for a lot of years. That one fact alone justifies the recall.

So, with that overview, what are the practical effects of the 04 budget wars? First, the introduction of a new word into the Capitol lexicon: a Fabian. Named after the new speaker, a Fabian is a real whopper of a lie. On more than one occasion, according to some insiders in the Big Five negotiations (for anyone not familiar with the phrase, the "Big Five" are the Republican and Democrat Senate and Assembly leaders plus the governor, who get together at budget time to negotiate the budget framework), Assembly Speaker Fabian Nunez would say one thing in the Big Five meeting, and then step out and say something completely different to the press. The first time it happened, the other participants were unhappy; the second time, the governor was furious. His now-famous "girlie-men" comment came after Nunez talked to the press, and, in the governor's estimation, deliberately lied about the status of negotiations. From that point forward, nobody in the Capitol "lied" anymore; they just told "Fabians."

The second effect of the budget negotiations was a renewed effort by the governor to push for a Republican majority in the Legislature. Schwarzenegger understood, after months of explanation, that the reason his cuts were getting nowhere was





■ As the statewide chart here shows, the 2004-05 Governor's Budget will bring General Fund spending back in line with the population growth and inflation.

because Democrats bottled them up in the budget committees. They then passed their own increases and claimed spending was out of balance because he spent too much. Schwarzenegger rightly understood that this was an act of bad faith. He asked the people of California to hold the Democrats to account for this behavior. Don't let them be "girlie-men" he said. Make them explain why they were supporting the special interests in Sacramento. In one short sentence, the governor was able to focus the attention of the entire state on the budget, and hold the Democrats responsible. Within a week, California had a budget, and — perhaps more importantly for the long term — the state also now had a governor who wanted to replace these Capitol "girlie-men."

If legislative Republicans achieved no more than engaging the governor in the electoral process, they achieved a lot. In addition, however, they held the line on tax and fee increases, achieved a degree of protection for local governments, forced dedication of all the new Indian revenue to roads and freeways, and kept spending increases down.

Lots of obstacles still lie between the current Sacramento reality and the Republican vision of spending restrained by fiscal responsibility and the goal of serving public interests as efficiently as possible. But few of them would prove impossible to overcome if, after November, California finds itself with a committed governor and a Republican legislative majority. CPR

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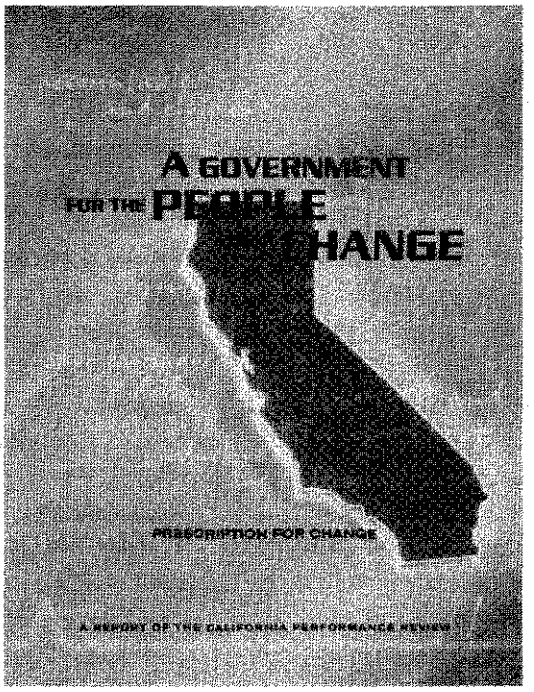

The Bodybuilder's Guide to Government Reform

George Passantino

Arnold Schwarzenegger's best-selling New Encyclopedia of Modern Bodybuilding has inspired up-and-coming body builders the world over — providing practical advice on everything from nutrition and workout regimens to psyching out your opponents and effective posing. Who would have thought that it would also inspire me as I served as a director of Governor Schwarzenegger's historic

When not trying to tighten up his own midsection in the local gym, George Passantino is director of Government Affairs for the Los Angeles-based Reason Foundation. Passantino also served as a director of the California Performance Review.

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The Report of the California Performance Review contains four volumes of comprehensive recommendations to reform and revitalize California's state government. Two hundred and seventy-five volunteers worked for five months examining organizational structures, analyzing data, meeting with interest groups and compiling the recommendations.

California Performance Review, a project aimed at cutting the flab of state government?

In the Encyclopedia, Schwarzenegger describes how, if you apply a 15-horsepower load to a 10-horsepower motor, the motor will eventually burn out. In contrast, over time the human body will change from a 10-horsepower motor into a 15-horsepower motor, getting stronger to achieve greater results.

We should think of government the same way, which is why the California Performance Review is so important.

In recent years, state expenditures have routinely outpaced state revenues. We are told that our only choices in confronting this imbalance are to raise taxes or cut vital services and watch our quality of life erode. This mindset treats government like a motor that is static and can only produce X amount of services for Y amount of taxes.

The bodybuilding philosophy of state finance, by contrast, sees government like the human body: dynamic, resilient, and able to become more efficient, doing more with less. Using this framework, the California Performance Review is a tour de force directly confronting business as usual, and offering up a healthy lifestyle change to the Sacramento status quo. The report identified $32 billion in savings that can be achieved over five years.

As with bodybuilding, the worst pain of government reform comes with getting rid of the initial flab, and there is plenty of that in California. And this difficult process of change is the reason that many special interests in Sacramento are concerned about CPR. Getting on the treadmill is uncomfortable — particularly when you are so comfy on the couch. But by applying the key lessons of bodybuilding, we can build a leaner, healthier, more efficient state government.

Accountability I: Everyone's In Charge; No One's In Charge

One of the most important steps in bodybuilding is accepting responsibility for your lifestyle and diet, closely monitoring what you do, and then changing it. There is an old saying "what gets measured gets done." That is why so many bodybuilders write down everything they eat in the course of a day and track their workouts with equal detail.

The old saying is true for government as well. Ensuring the greatest bang for the taxpayers' buck requires that government decisions and actions be transparent and that actual performance brings consequences and rewards. Several CPR proposals incorporate this vision and are intended to increase accountability in government.

Currently, state government's executive branch consists of 11 agencies, 79 departments, and more than 300 independent boards and commissions. This structure scatters accountability and confuses lines of authority. Take the state entities responsible for critical infrastructure (roads, water, power) as an example. More than 30 of them are directly involved in this function, yet no single person can be held accountable for ensuring long-term planning and management of infrastructure. Lots of people are responsible: so many, in fact, that nobody is accountable. CPR identified situations where overlapping responsibilities and duplication of authority has resulted in two state entities spending thousands of legal hours suing one another. The idea of state agencies suing each other is appalling. No matter who wins in court, the taxpayer is certain to lose.

Confronting these challenges head on, the

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CPR proposal collapses the existing structure into 11 departments aligned along quality-of-life priorities. Each department is given a clear mission and areas of responsibility. Under the CPR model, infrastructure would be consolidated into a single entity led by a secretary directly accountable to the governor. Public Safety would be similarly consolidated, and so on. As the CPR report notes, "If a program is failing Californians, good government demands that blame be easy to affix and hard to deflect."

Accountability II: Justifiable budgets

CPR also proposes fundamental changes in how California government budgets its tax dollars. The process currently could be characterized as "baseline" budgeting: previous years' spending levels are used as the baseline and hence, assumed to be good investments. CPR proposes shifting to "performance-based budgeting" whereby programs are measured each year for what they achieve. That performance information, in turn, informs the level of spending. Under this approach, programs that fail to achieve their goals and, hence, contribute little to the state's quality of life, much like fatty foods and empty calories, can be more easily targeted for elimination or reduction.

Similarly, CPR proposes bringing more accountability to the way the state manages and motivates its public employees. Shockingly, under current practice, more than 99 percent of state employees eligible for consideration for a "merit raise" receive it. Whenever this merit raise is denied (which happens rarely), employees may appeal the decision, which, in most cases, is overturned. State managers complain that it takes as much documentation to deny a merit raise as it does to demote an employee.

Competition

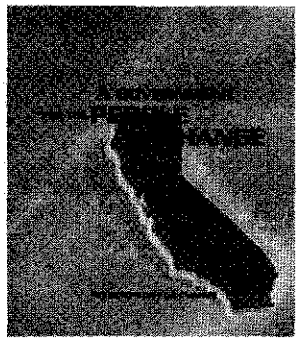
In his Encyclopedia, Schwarzenegger emphasizes competition as a powerful force that anyone can use (as he uses on himself) to bring out the very best effort possible. Similarly, in the delivery of public services competition can lead to improved performance and lower costs. The CPR report includes several proposals to do just that. Among them is creation of a Competitive Government Panel to identify opportunities and barriers to competition and then implement and oversee competitive efforts.

The report also recommends ending the monopoly that has been granted to the Prison Industry Authority over state purchases. As it stands, all state agencies are mandated to purchase from the PIA all products that they provide. Waivers to this monopoly are only granted by the PIA themselves and the desire to attain a lower price is not a valid reason for such a waiver. As a result, state agencies overpay for products they could purchase for much less on the competitive market. In a 1993 report, the Little Hoover Commission, the state watchdog agency, declared that the Prison Industry Authority was "holding state departments hostage to high prices and delayed deliveries."

Much like the bodybuilder that gets a better pump and performs better because of competition, state government can pump up by breaking down artificial barriers to competition.

Innovation

Bodybuilders also routinely try new, innovative workout strategies to build the strongest bodies and target muscle groups in different ways. California needs a similar workout routine that uses new approaches to delivering services to the public. Bodybuilding technology and science has changed dramatically since the days of



Issues and Recommendations: The fourth volume of the CPR report contains 279 government issues with over 1,200 recommendations that have the potential to save the state $32 billion over the next five years and guide California's government into the 21st century.

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legendary bodybuilder Bill Pearl. Competitors that relied on the old approaches of the 1950s could not compete in the modern world. The same holds true for government. The world around us has developed while government has changed very little for decades.

For instance, while Californians can renew their vehicle registration online, they are unable to renew driver's licenses that way. As a result, approximately 1 million drivers will stand in line at a DMV field office to renew their drivers' licenses this year. Not only does this add to the expense of the renewal process, it is also a backward model for serving DMV customers: the citizens of the state.

Similarly, CPR proposes a unified connection with the public for state information. Rather than wading through hundreds of toll-free numbers, CPR envisions a single number, a single web portal.

Thirty-four percent of the California state workforce is eligible to retire within the next five years. To help cope with this new reality, CPR recommends leveraging technology and improving customer service as the pool of state workers may decline in coming years.

The Time is Now

For many years, California has lurched from crisis to crisis — electricity, budget, workers' compensation. Sadly, elected leaders have not focused on fundamental state government reforms the past several years, instead doing little more than attempting to put off problems while the state's health has declined steadily.

Seeing this trend, Schwarzenegger embarked on a comprehensive review of state government when he launched the California Performance Review. The report that resulted from that effort now sits on his desk.

In many ways, CPR is like a membership to a gym, complete with a comprehensive nutritional discipline and workout plan. But like all bodybuilding strategies, they only work if you develop the discipline to stick with them.

Now we wait to see if Sacramento has that discipline to reform itself. Even "Girlie Men" couldn't ask for a better trainer. CPR

The bodybuilder in all of us

The spirit of the recall — and of the California Performance Review — is the perfect antidote to Sacramento waste & bloat.

John Kurzweil

The California Performance Review report (at *http://www.report.cpr.ca.gov*) provides invaluable documentation that, if there is an inefficient way to go, California government will take it; if an even less efficient way to serve the public can be found, California government will find it. For example:

"A person wanting to open a beauty salon in Sacramento ... must register or obtain permits and licenses from eight different state entities, and someone wanting to open a gasoline service station must register or obtain permits and licenses from nine state departments."

"Testifying before the Little Hoover Commission in August 1994, Lillian Rowett, DPA's [Department of Personnel Administration's] former chief deputy director, explained: 'We believe one of the primary reasons merit pay has evolved to longevity pay is the fact that it requires the same documentation and evidence to deny a 5 percent merit salary increase as it does to suspend or demote an employee. Supervisors and managers ... simply avoid this issue in nearly all situations.'"

And my personal favorite, on state government's overall handling of taxpayer dollars:

> The current budget process forces the Governor and the Legislature to focus on individual department requests for increased expenditures rather than on *broad policy issues that impact the*

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

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people of California the most.

California's traditional line-item system of budgeting outlines how much money has been spent on specific operating costs (training, travel, overtime, etc.) *but does not provide information on performance or productivity.* A department is measured not by the effectiveness of its programs but by bottom line expenditures. This does not allow for efficient management of programs.

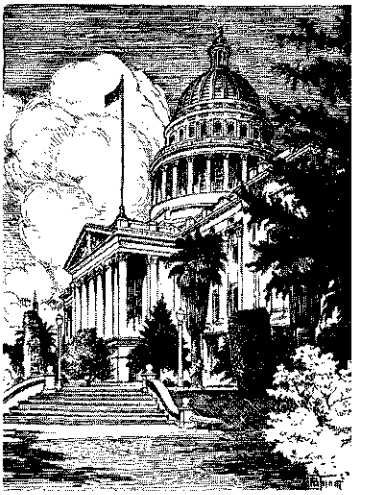
Ineffective programs are allowed to continue without review and programs which have outlived their purpose cannot be identified easily. The long-term effectiveness of a program is seldom revisited once it is in a department's baseline budget. Limited attention is given to evaluating performance because there is no standard measurement system in place. *Accountability for services the public expects and to which they are entitled is virtually impossible.* In 1999, the Senate Advisory Commission on Cost Control in State Government noted that an estimated 60 to 70 percent of the annual budget is approved without significant scrutiny. *(emphasis added)*

The Performance report, here and there, hints at the cause of this weird state of affairs: government lacks the profit motive that makes people in private endeavors strive to serve the public to the best of their abilities. Human nature, and human laziness, being what they are, few of us go out of our way year after year putting the customer first without a strong personal incentive to do so. In the private economy, profit supplies that: inefficiency will eventually go broke. In government, the closest substitute is the re-elect motive, a far less efficient mechanism. So, in California, as the CPR report amply documents, program after program and process after process operates to serve those in charge, not the public. The question is: How can public interest again become government's main concern?

The first answer is to shrink government and keep it small. This objective, the CPR report shows, is served by the very process of promoting efficiency — the more efficient government is, the less of it there need be, and the less government we get by with, the easier what's left is to keep from degenerating from public service into self-service. Bloated government acts like a haven and a magnet for lazy, selfish people (yes, terribly cynical to say it, I suppose, but there really are such people in the world, and not a few of them find their way into government). These folks find trim, efficient government far less attractive.

More subtle, and more insidious, is the dynamic of government power that requires an endless series of crises, problems, dysfunctions, you name it — California's almost never-ending draught, for instance — to justify those in power in retaining, exercising, and increasing their power. In short: government can't afford to solve problems because doing so puts it out of business. No "crises" means people are getting along fine on their own, so who needs high taxes to pay "the best and the brightest" to help them out? Economist Thomas Sowell wrote that he became a conservative in his early years working at the U.S. Labor Department when he saw his colleagues' reaction to data he had found that suggested minimum wage laws may hurt the people they are supposed to help. The reaction was not: gee, Tom, we didn't know, or even: Get out of here with that anti-worker propaganda. The reaction from the federal Labor bureaucrats was: Tom, why do you want to threaten our jobs?

The answer to these forces pushing government to be as inefficient as possible is for the natural counter-force (the people) to fight for its own interests. The spirit of the recall, and the spirit of the Schwarzenegger Administration (or at least of this major aspect of it, the California Performance Review) is that of a public knowledgeable and realistic enough to understand that it must never cease demanding, as Governor Schwarzenegger put it in his address to the national GOP convention, "that government should be accountable to the people, not the people to the government." To be part of that knowledgeable public, go to the website, read how our government operates and how it can be reformed, and then spread the word.



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Champions of intellectual diversity?

American colleges and universities — particularly in California — have dropped the baton of academic freedom. Conservative students are helping them retrieve it.

Igor Birman

FIRST OFF, allow me to extend my gratitude to Young America's Foundation for inviting me to speak. The foundation is truly a beacon of support and inspiration, and altogether an indispensable resource and ally for students fighting in the trenches to preserve and advance our conservative values against college leftism. I am profoundly honored to be here.

CONSERVATIVE UPSWING

Ever since the election of President Ronald Reagan, conservative values have been on the upswing in America.

Faced with Ronald Reagan's unyielding leadership and an unprecedented U.S. commitment to strong national defense, the Soviet Union — the Evil Empire — simply ceased to exist. In due time so will radical Islam.

After decades of reckless taxation, raising taxes is fast becoming a one-way express ticket to the political graveyard. Just ask Gray Davis what he now thinks of his attempt to triple the California car tax.

Gun ownership is on the rise. And just this year, several states finally dropped their shameful restrictions on the individual's God-given right to self-defense, making it legal, at last, to carry concealed weapons.

The ghastly practice of partial-birth abortion has been outlawed and support for abortion itself is on the decline across the nation. Indeed, more women are now pro-life than pro-abortion, a momentous achievement.

While the travesty of homosexual "marriage" found wide acceptance in Europe, and as close to our borders as Canada, Americans continue to support the sanctity of marriage. Even in the People's Republic of Massachusetts.

Other ugly progeny of leftist thought such as racial quotas and socialized health care face popular scorn and dim prospects.

STILL FAR TO GO

Of course, the battle is far from won.

We still face out-of-control federal and state gov-

Former legislative aide to state Senator Tom McClintock Igor Birman is a second-year student at Emory Law School. This article is adapted from an address delivered at Young America's Foundation's FreedomFest.

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ernment spending. Income and Property tax rates are still unacceptably high. Too many states, as well as the federal government, still impose draconian restrictions on businesses. Believe it or not, it is illegal in California for an employer to fire an employee who happens to be a cross-dresser. Even if that employer is a religious organization.

Our very sovereignty is compromised, as untold numbers of illegal immigrants pour into California and other states, often welcomed with open arms.

Millions of lives have been prematurely ended by abortions.

Nonetheless, across our nation conservatives are making significant headway. The momentum is on our side.

ISLANDS OF CLOSED MINDS

The exceptions to this optimistic story, however, are our college campuses. Once proud champions of unfettered academic exploration and intellectual diversity, our institutions of higher learning have degraded into safe heavens for staunch socialists, sympathizers with Palestinian barbarism, committed enemies of our Judeo-Christian principles, Taliban apologists, radicals who agitate for the Southwest to be reclaimed by Mexico, and other anti-American deviants, whose contempt for everything normal sometimes extends even to basic hygiene.

These groups perceive as frighteningly alien such defining American concepts as popular sovereignty and the principle that our rights come from our Creator, not from the state.

Bizarre as they may seem, these forces of leftism constitute considerably more than an annoyance to mainstream students and faculty. Indeed, they rule with an iron fist at many colleges and universities, and control virtually all major campuses in California. Where they prevail, diversity of thought disappears, replaced by a desiccated political correctness, while respect for individual rights is lost in a general disregard for law.

Examples abound: A student at the California Polytechnic University faced severe disciplinary action simply for posting a flyer advertising a conservative speaker after that flyer was found offensive by a group of radicals. A student at San Francisco State was expelled for advocating Zionist and anti-terrorist views found offensive by the radical pro-Palestinian agitators on campus. A student voicing his opposition to a boisterous pro-abortion rally at the University of California, Davis, was arrested by campus police and charged with, get this, disturbing the peace. At a rally.

On many of our college campuses, the radical left, exercising its free speech rights, publicly ridicules anyone daring to express a view it opposes as racist, bigoted, and any other names their PC minds can think of. So far so good, but also on many of our college campuses, the radical left, trampling *other peoples'* free speech rights, seeks to consign anyone daring to express a view it opposes to diversity training, suspension, or even arrest or expulsion.

Of course, these repressive tactics lack even a hint of grounding in any form of law. They do it because they get away with it. Failure to challenge less disgraceful abuses of power in years past encouraged campus radicals to graduate to more brazen assaults on freedom of thought today. The key to easing the radicals' reign of terror in many cases is to organize sound conservative groups prepared to fight back, using every available resource: talk radio, television, the Internet, and, ultimately, the court house.

Encouraged by the national revival of American values, conservative students have indeed begun to fight back in ever-increasing numbers. In all three of the examples mentioned above, the students involved successfully challenged the punishments meted out to them — either in a court of law or in the court of public opinion.

ENRAGING OPPONENTS

And so did I when I was fired from the sole student newspaper at UC Davis for, as the editor put it, "enraging members of the opposing causes." I fought back not because I enjoy receiving large volumes of hate mail (though the letters were often entertaining) or because I desperately needed the $1 per column inch the paper had agreed to pay for my opinion pieces. I fought back because I knew that unless these repressive thugs were stopped by a legitimate force grounded in law and respect for freedom, their efforts to silence conservative thought would only be intensified.

My fight took place at UC Davis, a campus whose days as a quiet University Farm are long over. In September 2002, along with other students, I applied for a columnist position on the student newspaper. The newspaper, in an effort to maintain some semblance of balance, granted me a contract to write the sole student political column with a conservative tilt (compared to at least three ultra-leftist columnists). The campus is now home to more than 50,000 students and quite a collection of radical groups, such as the

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International Socialist Organization, MEChA (which would like to see the southwestern United States ceded to Mexico), and Students for Justice in Palestine. It is home, too, to an overt hatred for anything even remotely conservative.

After writing seven columns supporting the war on terror, expressing support for Israel, and explaining general conservative principles in the face of blind leftist rhetoric (while receiving ample loads of hate-filled mail from grammar- and spelling-challenged correspondents), I received this email from Mr. Fitz Vo, *California Aggie* editor-in-chief, on New Years Day 2003:

> I hope you're having a good new year. Thanks for giving me the opportunity this year to edit your columns. Due to the increasingly tighter spaces in The *Aggie* and the relative impact of your column, I regret to inform you that I would have to cut your The Right Stuff Column.
>
> This is due to several reasons, first of which is the dryness in your column's tone. I have told you several times that I would like to hear more of your voice in your columns, but that seems to be muddled in a lot of similarly versed right-wing rhetoric that I have heard before. Again, I would like a unique perspective, and you don't seem to provide it.
>
> Secondly, the tone of your column seems to have a tendency to enrage members of the opposing causes. Judging from the range of feedback I have received, your column does not seem to spark dialogue, but anger that only increases a tit-for-tat response.

When I — as a pre-teen — fled with my family the former Soviet Union, we left behind a nation where laws were systematically ignored and persecution ruled. In silencing the sole voice of conservatism, the UC Davis newspaper committed essentially the same kind of assault on freedom of thought. Soviet communists would have been proud. Such reckless disregard for individual rights and the rule of law has no place in this country.

Confronting the editor-in-chief with logic and reason failed dismally. I was told that his position apparently gives him the power to repudiate even contracts that require agreement of both sides for termination. Campus administration did not seem to care about the situation, even while conceding privately that I had a strong breach-of-contract case.

THE OUTSIDE WORLD RESPONDS

But as soon as I filed my case against the newspaper in small claims court, the incident aroused substantial interest locally, statewide, even nationally. Shortly after my termination I was making the rounds on several radio talk shows and Brit Hume ran a segment about my situation on Special Report. Soon the newspaper was flooded with phone calls and mail from members of the public incensed that a columnist could be fired simply for being a conservative.

However, it was not until the newspaper was told point blank by a Court-appointed mediator that it had no prospects of prevailing in court that Mr. Vo grudgingly conceded defeat. The newspaper was forced to agree publicly to pay out the balance of my contract and admit wrongdoing.

THE AMOUNT I recovered and subsequently donated to a non-profit conservative organization was insignificant. But this small victory served as another source of inspiration for conservative students at UC Davis and other campuses and as one more fracture in the sense of impunity and contempt for law of the left-wing campus dictators. That sense of impunity must be destroyed for sanity to return to our campuses. The belief they can get away with anything is what allows campus radicals (and their supporters in the administration) to suppress true dissent while spreading radical dogma that denigrates our values and would destroy, if it could, our way of life. Radical leftist thought-suppression has no place in this free society of ours. It must be vanquished on our college campuses.

JUNIOR MARXISTS

Allow me to conclude on the note with which I began. While we face many more battles, Conservatism is spreading in America. It is therefore easy to dismiss the ugly ooze of leftism that pollutes our fine institutions of higher education and simply write them off as islands of dying philosophies in the sea of resurgent conservatism. It is prudent, though, to remember words that Abraham Lincoln once said, "The philosophy of the school room in one generation will be the philosophy of government in the next."

If we allow our homegrown band of junior Marxists, up-and-coming censors, terrorist sympathizers, and other haters of America to run unchallenged on campus, we had better be prepared to reap the consequences later. Conservative students can sweep campus leftism from dominance and consign it to its rightful place with other abandoned ideologies, but those students need our help and dedication to do so. God bless you all and may He continue to bless this great nation of ours and especially our troops in harm's way, placing their lives in jeopardy abroad so that freedom can reign at home. CPR

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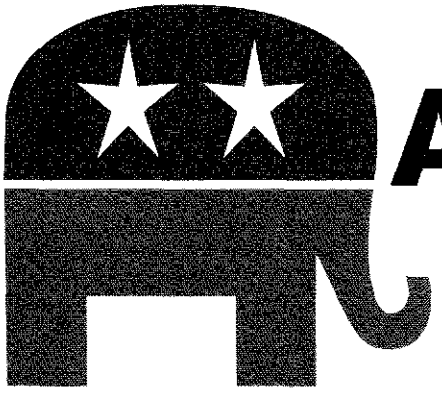

Are you a Republican?

Californians at the national conventions

Hon. Arnold Schwarzenegger:
Address to the national Republican Convention, August 31, 2004 ... 25
Hon. Dianne Feinstein:
Address to the national Democrat Convention, July 28, 2004 28
Special feature — making liberals gag
Zell Miller: Democrat leaders see America as occupier, not liberator .. 29

Text of California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's speech:

Thank you. What a greeting! This is like winning an Oscar! ... As if I would know! Speaking of acting, one of my movies was called True Lies. It's what the Democrats should have called their convention. My fellow Americans, this is an amazing moment for me. To think that a once scrawny boy from Austria could grow up to become governor of California and stand in Madison Square Garden to speak on behalf of the president of the United States. That is an immigrant's dream. It is the American dream.

I was born in Europe ... and I've traveled all over the world. I can tell you that there is no place, no country, more compassionate, more generous, more accepting, and more welcoming than the United States of America.

As long as I live, I will never forget that day 21 years ago when I raised my hand and took the oath of citizenship.

Do you know how proud I was? I was so proud that I walked around with an American flag around my shoulders all day long.

Tonight, I want to talk about why I'm even more proud to be an American — why I'm

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proud to be a Republican and why I believe this country is in good hands.

When I was a boy, the Soviets occupied part of Austria. I saw their tanks in the streets. I saw communism with my own eyes. I remember the fear we had when we had to cross into the Soviet sector. Growing up, we were told, "Don't look the soldiers in the eye. Look straight ahead." It was a common belief that Soviet soldiers could take a man out of his own car and ship him off to the Soviet Union as slave labor.

My family didn't have a car — but one day we were in my uncle's car. It was near dark as we came to a Soviet checkpoint. I was a little boy, I wasn't an action hero back then, and I remember how scared I was that the soldiers would pull my father or my uncle out of the car and I'd never see him again. My family and so many others lived in fear of the Soviet boot. Today, the world no longer fears the Soviet Union and it is because of the United States of America!

As a kid I saw the socialist country that Austria became after the Soviets left. I love Austria and I love the Austrian people — but I always knew America was the place for me. In school, when the teacher would talk about America, I would daydream about coming here. I would sit for hours watching American movies transfixed by my heroes like John Wayne. Everything about America seemed so big to me, so open, so possible.

I finally arrived here in 1968. I had empty pockets, but I was full of dreams. The presidential campaign was in full swing. I remember watching the Nixon and Humphrey presidential race on TV. A friend who spoke German and English translated for me. I heard Humphrey saying things that sounded like socialism, which is what I had just left. But then I heard Nixon speak. He was talking about free enterprise, getting government off your back, lowering taxes and strengthening the military. Listening to Nixon speak sounded more like a breath of fresh air.

I said to my friend, "What party

is he?" My friend said, "He's a Republican." I said, "Then I am a Republican!" And I've been a Republican ever since! And trust me, in my wife's family, that's no small achievement! I'm proud to belong to the party of Abraham Lincoln, the party of Teddy Roosevelt, the party of Ronald Reagan, and the party of George W. Bush.

To my fellow immigrants listening tonight, I want you to know how welcome you are in this party. We Republicans admire your ambition. We encourage your dreams. We believe in your future. One thing I learned about America is that if you work hard and play by the rules, this country is truly open to you. You can achieve anything.

Everything I have — my career, my success, my family — I owe to America. In this country, it doesn't make any difference where you were born. It doesn't make any difference who your parents were. It doesn't make any difference if, like me, you couldn't even speak English until you were in your twenties.

America gave me opportunities and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That's why I believe in this country, that's why I believe in this party and that's why I believe in this president.

Now, many of you out there tonight are "Republican" like me in your hearts and in your beliefs. Maybe you're from Guatemala. Maybe you're from the Philippines. Maybe Europe or the Ivory Coast. Maybe you live in Ohio, Pennsylvania, or New Mexico. And maybe, just maybe, you don't agree with this party on every single issue. I say to you tonight I believe that's not only okay, that's what's great about this country. Here we can respectfully disagree and still be patriotic, still be American, and still be good Republicans.

My fellow immigrants, my fellow Americans, how do you know if you are a Republican? I'll tell you how.

If you believe that government should be accountable to the people, not the people to the government, then you are a Republican! If you believe a person should be treated as an individual, not as a member of an interest group, then you are a Republican! If you believe your family knows how to spend your money better than the government does, then you are a Republican! If you believe our educational system should be held accountable for the progress of our children, then you are a Republican! If you believe this country, not the United Nations, is the best hope of de-

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mocracy in the world, then you are a Republican! And, ladies and gentlemen, if you believe we must be fierce and relentless and terminate terrorism, then you are a Republican!

There is another way you can tell you're a Republican. You have faith in free enterprise, faith in the resourcefulness of the American people, and faith in the U.S. economy. To those critics who are so pessimistic about our economy, I say: "Don't be economic girlie men!"

The U.S. economy remains the envy of the world. We have the highest economic growth of any of the world's major industrialized nations. Don't you remember the pessimism of 20 years ago when the critics said Japan and Germany were overtaking the U.S.? Ridiculous!

Now they say India and China are overtaking us. Don't you believe it! We may hit a few bumps — but America always moves ahead! That's what Americans do!

We move prosperity ahead. We move freedom ahead. We move people ahead. Under President Bush and Vice President Cheney, America's economy is moving ahead in spite of a recession they inherited and in spite of the attack on our homeland.

Now, the other party says there are two Americas. Don't believe that either. I've visited our troops in Iraq, Kuwait, Bosnia, Germany, and all over the world. I've visited our troops in California, where they train before they go overseas. And I've visited our military hospitals. And I can tell you this: Our young men and women in uniform do not believe there are two Americas!

They believe we are one America and they are fighting for it! We are one America — and President Bush is defending it with all his heart and soul!

That's what I admire most about the president. He's a man of perseverance.

He's a man of inner strength. He is a leader who doesn't flinch, doesn't waiver, does not back down. My fellow Americans, make no mistake about it. Terrorism is more insidious than communism, because it yearns to destroy not just the individual, but the entire international order. The president didn't go into Iraq because the polls told him it was popular. As a matter of fact, the polls said just the opposite. But leadership isn't about polls. It's about making decisions you think are right and then standing behind those decisions. That's why America is safer with George W. Bush as president.

If you believe your family knows how to spend your money better than the government does, then you are a Republican!

He knows you don't reason with terrorists. You defeat them. He knows you can't reason with people blinded by hate. They hate the power of the individual. They hate the progress of women. They hate the religious freedom of others. They hate the liberating breeze of democracy. But ladies and gentlemen, their hate is no match for America's decency.

We're the America that sends out Peace Corps volunteers to teach village children. We're the America that sends out missionaries and doctors to raise up the poor and the sick. We're the America that gives more than any other country to fight AIDS in Africa and the developing world. And we're the America that fights not for imperialism but for human rights and democracy.

You know, when the Germans brought down the Berlin Wall, America's determination helped wield the sledgehammers. When that lone, young Chinese man stood in front of those tanks in Tiananmen Square, America's hopes stood with him. And when Nelson Mandela smiled in election victory after all those years in prison, America celebrated, too.

We are still the lamp lighting the world especially for those who struggle. No matter in what labor camp they slave, no matter in what injustice they're trapped, they hear our call, they see our light, and they feel the pull of our freedom. They come here as I did because they believe. They believe in us.

They come because their hearts say to them, as mine did, "If only I can get to America." Someone once wrote: "There are those who say that freedom is nothing but a dream." They are right. It's the American dream.

No matter the nationality, no matter the religion, no matter the ethnic background, America brings out the best in people. And as governor of the great state of California, I see the best in Americans every day: our police, our firefighters, our nurses, doctors, and teachers, our parents.

And what about the extraordinary men and women who have volunteered to fight for the United States of America! I have such great respect for them and their heroic families.

Let me tell you about the sacrifice and commitment I've seen firsthand. In one of the military hospitals I visited, I met a young

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guy who was in bad shape. He'd lost a leg, had a hole in his stomach, his shoulder had been shot through.

I could tell there was no way he could ever return to combat. But when I asked him, "When do you think you'll get out of the hospital?" He said, "sir, in three weeks." And do you know what he said to me then? He said he was going to get a new leg, and get some therapy, and then he was going back to Iraq to serve alongside his buddies! He grinned at me and said, "Arnold, I'll be back!"

Ladies and gentlemen, America is back! Back from the attack on our homeland, back from the attack on our economy, back from the attack on our way of life. e're back because of the perseverance, character and leadership of the 43rd president of the United States, George W. Bush.

My fellow Americans, I want you to know that I believe with all my heart that America remains "the great idea" that inspires the world. It's a privilege to be born here. It's an honor to become a citizen here. It's a gift to raise your family here, to vote here and to live here.

Our president, George W. Bush, has worked hard to protect and preserve the American dream for all of us. That's why I say, send him back to Washington for four more years!

Thank you, America, and God bless you all!

Fiscal responsibility/Coalitions and Alliances

Dianne Feinstein — Kerry for President

John Kerry will lead the way to restoring our values, hope, opportunity, and equality for all Americans.

California Senator Dianne Feinstein's remarks to the Democrat National Convention July 28, 2004.

On behalf of Democrats across this great nation, it is my honor and privilege to nominate Senator John Kerry for the presidency of the United States.

I've known John Kerry for more than a decade. I've worked with him in the senate, and I'm proud to call him a friend. John Kerry's a man who is skilled, capable, and experienced.

He is caring and compassionate — a family man. In Vietnam, as a naval officer, in the courtroom as a prosecutor, in the senate representing the state of Massachusetts, he has devoted his life to serving this nation. He understands the urgent need to bring this country together, toward a common purpose — a united America. Or, as President Clinton so eloquently said two nights ago, "a more perfect union."

John Kerry's chief goal as president will be to move this nation in a new and different direction. Away from the huge deficits and debt of these past four years and toward fiscal responsibility. Away from policies that eliminate good-paying American jobs and that send those jobs overseas. For too many Americans, incomes are stagnant, jobs are threatened, workers work harder but earn less. This is not the American dream.

There are families in my state, California, who can't afford vaccinations for their children and who have no health insurance when they face catastrophic illness. John Kerry's health care proposals will change this. America can do better, and with John Kerry, America will do better. As president, John Kerry will build those bridges necessary to restore America's credibility abroad, and he'll build the coalitions and alliances we need to win the War on Terror.

As a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, I know that we need to make changes in our intelligence community. That is the conclusion of the Joint House-Senate Inquiry investigating 9-11. That's also the conclusion of the just-released 9-11 Commission Report. It's been three years since the tragic events of September 11th. Yet we haven't made the changes necessary. I can tell you that John Kerry won't wait. America will be safer.

John Kerry will also work his heart out to see that our children are well-educated and well-prepared to meet the challenges of the future. He'll work to free this nation from its dependence on foreign oil — to keep it clean and green. And most importantly, he'll

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lead the way to restoring our values, hope, opportunity, and equality for all Americans.

This November's election, for me, is the most important election in my lifetime — for we face unprecedented threats at home and abroad. My friends, this election is the test of our time. For no less is at stake than the character of our nation. But we have a strong, new leader, prepared and ready to confront these challenges and lead this nation to a better tomorrow. That's why I'm so proud to nominate — as our party's choice to be the next president of the United States — Senator John Kerry.

Politics first, America second

Zell Miller: The Last Honest Democrat?

Zell Miller talks about his Party (a) to the nation and (b) to Chris Matthews

The following is excerpted from Georgia Senator Zell Miller's September 2 remarks at the Republican National Convention.

Motivated more by partisan politics than by national security, today's Democratic leaders see America as an occupier, not a liberator.

And nothing makes this Marine madder than someone calling American troops occupiers rather than liberators.

Tell that to the one-half of Europe that was freed because Franklin Roosevelt led an army of liberators, not occupiers.

Tell that to the lower half of the Korean Peninsula that is free because Dwight Eisenhower commanded an army of liberators, not occupiers.

Tell that to the half a billion men, women and children who are free today from the Baltics to the Crimea, from Poland to Siberia, because Ronald Reagan rebuilt a military of liberators, not occupiers.

Never in the history of the world has any soldier sacrificed more for the freedom and liberty of total strangers than the American soldier. And, our soldiers don't just give freedom abroad, they preserve it for us here at home.

For it has been said so truthfully that it is the soldier, not the reporter, who has given us the freedom of the press.

It is the soldier, not the poet, who has given us freedom of speech. It is the soldier, not the agitator, who has given us the freedom to protest.

It is the soldier who salutes the flag, serves beneath the flag, whose coffin is draped by the flag who gives that protester the freedom to abuse and burn that flag.

No one should dare to even think about being the Commander in Chief of this country if he doesn't believe with all his heart that our soldiers are liberators abroad and defenders of freedom at home.

But don't waste your breath telling that to the leaders of my party today. In their warped way of thinking America is the problem, not the solution.

They don't believe there is any real danger in the world except that which America brings upon itself through our clumsy and misguided foreign policy.

It is not their patriotism — it is their judgment that has been so sorely lacking. They claimed Carter's pacifism would lead to peace.

They were wrong.

They claimed Reagan's defense buildup would lead to war.

They were wrong.

And, no pair has been more wrong, more loudly, more often than the two Senators from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy and John Kerry.

Together, Kennedy/Kerry have opposed the very weapons system that won the Cold War and that is now winning the War on Terror.

Listing all the weapon systems that Senator Kerry tried his best to shut down sounds like an auctioneer selling off our national security but Americans need to know the facts.

The B-1 bomber, that Senator Kerry opposed, dropped 40% of the bombs in the first six months of Operation Enduring Freedom.

The B-2 bomber, that Senator Kerry opposed, delivered air strikes against the Taliban in Afghanistan and Hussein's command post in Iraq.

The F-14A Tomcats, that Senator Kerry opposed, shot down Khadifi's Libyan MIGs over the

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Gulf of Sidra. The modernized F-14D, that Senator Kerry opposed, delivered missile strikes against Tora Bora.

The Apache helicopter, that Senator Kerry opposed, took out those Republican Guard tanks in Kuwait in the Gulf War. The F-15 Eagles, that Senator Kerry opposed, flew cover over our Nation's Capital and this very city after 9/11.

I could go on and on and on: Against the Patriot Missile that shot down Saddam Hussein's scud missiles over Israel, Against the Aegis air-defense cruiser, Against the Strategic Defense Initiative, Against the Trident missile, against, against, against.

This is the man who wants to be the Commander in Chief of our U.S. Armed Forces?

U.S. forces armed with what? Spitballs?

Shortly after he delivered his speech to the nation, Senator Miller held a memorable exchange with a seething Chris Matthews on Matthews' MSNBC show "Hardball," from which the following is excerpted.
— editor

MATTHEWS: I just want to know, do you mean to say that you really believe that John Kerry and Ted Kennedy do not believe in defending the country?

MILLER: Well, look at their votes.

MATTHEWS: I'm just asking you to bottom-line it for me.

MILLER: Wait a minute. I said I didn't question their patriotism.

MATTHEWS: No. Do you believe that they don't believe in defending the country?

MILLER: I question their judgment. What?

MATTHEWS: Do you believe they want to defend the country?

MILLER: Look, I applaud what John Kerry did as far as volunteering to go to Vietnam. I applaud what he did when he volunteered for combat. I admire that, and I respect that. And I acknowledge that. I have said that many, many times.

MATTHEWS: Right.

(CROSSTALK)

MILLER: But I think his record is atrocious.

MATTHEWS: Well, let me ask you, when Democrats come out, as they often do, liberal Democrats, and attack conservatives, and say they want to starve little kids, they want to get rid of education, they want to kill the old people ...

MILLER: I am not saying that. Wait a minute.

MATTHEWS: That kind of rhetoric is not educational, is it?

MILLER: Wait a minute. Now, this is your program. And I am a guest on your program.

MATTHEWS: Yes, sir.

MILLER: And so I want to try to be as nice as I possibly can to you. I wish I was over there, where I could get a little closer up into your face. But I don't have to stand here and listen to that kind of stuff. I didn't say anything about not feeding poor kids. What are you doing?

MATTHEWS: No, I'm saying that when you said tonight — I just want you to ...

MILLER: Well, you are saying a bunch of baloney that didn't have anything to do with what I said up there on the ...

(CROSSTALK)

MILLER: No, no.

MATTHEWS: OK. Do you believe now — do you believe, senator, truthfully, that John Kerry wants to defend the country with spitballs? Do you believe that?

MILLER: That was a metaphor, wasn't it? Do you know what a metaphor is?

MATTHEWS: Well, what do you mean by a metaphor?

MILLER: Wait a minute. He certainly does not want to defend the country with the B-1 bomber or the B-2 bomber or the Harrier jet or the Apache helicopter or all those other things that I mentioned. And there were even more of them in here. You've got to quit taking these Democratic talking points and using what they are saying to you.

MATTHEWS: No, I am using your talking points and asking you if you really believe them.

MILLER: Well, use John Kerry's talking points from the — from what he has had to say on the floor of the senate, where he talked about them being occupiers, where he put out this whenever he was running for the U.S. Senate about what he wanted to cancel. Cancel to me means to do away with.

MATTHEWS: Well, what did you mean by the following.

MILLER: I think we ought to cancel this interview .... CPR

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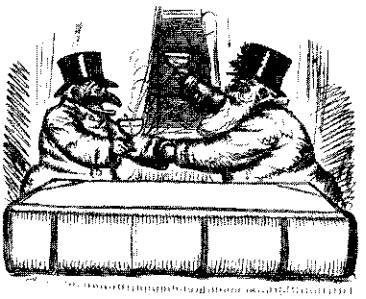

CRITICUS

Summer Syllabub

BY G.B. TENNYSON

Syllabub: A frothy dish of milk curdled by wine and sweetened; hence figuratively, something unsubstantial, especially floridly vapid discourse or writing.

FOR MY annual review of Silly Season silliness I had originally thought to take on the Olympics, for by this time around they appeared to have become about as silly as silly gets. I would show that the connection between the original games and the modern claimant to the same title was worse than tenuous, more evanescent than the life of a mayfly, indeed ultimately non-existent. I would point out that the original games involved only men, both as participants and spectators; that the athletes competed nude; that something like ninety percent of the events of the modern games, including even the Marathon, did not exist in the ancient games; that the torch relay was invented by the great Leni Riefenstahl for the 1936 Berlin Olympics; and even, for that matter, that Baron de Coubertin did not so much create the modern Olympics as appropriate the idea from several predecessors. Then, when it comes to the actual events and contests, Criticus would .... Well, you, Constant Reader, can go on as readily as I, for the coverage of the games has, even if unwittingly, exposed the whole business as fundamentally fraudulent, a worldwide scramble for money and fame by what are in effect professional athletes.

G.B. Tennyson has recovered from the rigors of his Italian sojourn and again takes to his keyboard to offer CPR *his annual gleanings of Silly Season follies.*

Thus, after watching too much of the Games on television and the Internet and following too much of them in the print media, Criticus came to the conclusion that even the dullest mind would have perceived all the flaws and settled for watching only those few events that were personally interesting or would have dropped the whole business as no more absorbing than so-called reality television. In short, synchronized swimming is for the viewer only more graceful but not more compelling than watching frenzied women devour worms in the hope of winning the free services of an attorney who would help them to gain a green card. So, farewell, big, fat Greek Olympics: I shall not speak of you.

SO MUCH for the Critical variation on *apophasis* — that's Greek for the rhetorical device of saying one is not going to say something by saying it, as in "I will not point out that my opponent has lied about his military service, nor will I say that he married for money ..." etc. So, goodbye to all that. Criticus now turns to the many other di-

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vertissements of the silly season and a few that came before.

Usage and Abusage

As they updated the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, compilers found that with ever-greater frequency English-language users are confusing sound-alike words, that is, homonyms, and therefore misusing them. These abusers write of diffusing a situation when they mean defusing. They pedal ideas when they should peddle them. They tow the line when they should toe it. They pour over books when they should pore over them. The compilers attribute much of this sort of confusion to reliance on the computer spell check, which as we all know cannot spot such errors in meaning. Criticus would point out, however, that the original error comes from the computer user, and in the Critical view that comes in turn from lack of required reading and spelling exercises in the schools. Where are those fabled nuns with rulers when you need them?

"It's not the form of life that takes personhood in the terms that we have judged it to be in the past."

NO SOONER had Criticus read of these spelling blunders than he came across a *Reuters* news piece noting that a substantial fine was to be levied against broadcasters for the Janet Jackson "breast-bearing" incident. All this prompts Criticus to ask how many ways could one misspell the following Critical creation: can a bare bear bear a bare baby bear?

At the same time an organization called the Plain English Campaign has compiled a list of the ten most hackneyed expressions in current use. The number one offender was "at the end of the day," and in second place came "at this moment in time." Third was the use of "like" as a kind of punctuation, and fourth was "with all due respect," with "to be honest" coming in at number five. Five is enough to give you the flavor, but Criticus was disappointed not to find on the list "in harm's way," an ancient expression, to be sure, but one that Criticus believes was given new, unctuous life by Bill Clinton when he was trying not to frighten the peasantry by saying anything so straightforward as "in danger," or, as Criticus might have it, "in mortal danger."

But the Critical prize for convoluted, syllabub speech goes hands down to Candidate Nuance who explained why he did not believe that early-term abortions were murder. "No," he said, "because it's not the form of life that takes personhood in the terms that we have judged it to be in the past." Further: "Does life begin? Yes, it begins. Is it at the point where I would say that you apply those [criminal] penalties? The answer is, no, and I believe in choice. I believe in the right to choose." He went on to say that in the fertilization process "a human being is first formed and created, and that's when life begins." There's more in this vein. Do you suppose the Pope understands?

The Diana Fountain

Let me confess at the outset that I have never been much of a Princess Diana fan. I shall not bore readers with a litany of reasons. I say simply that I found her tedious and self-serving. I even predicted that she would meet with an early death. This does not mean that I rejoiced over her sad demise, but neither does it mean that I became a convert to her cause, whatever that was. When they decided to memorialize her with a "fountain" in Hyde Park, I saw it as simply more Diana-fever and therefore ho-hum. (Remember, too, that Criticus is a monarchist.) Then, when the winning design by an evidently untalented American woman was revealed and ultimately constructed, I had a further yawn. A narrow, shallow, circular wading strip of water? Well, at least they didn't go the Liberace route, by which the swimming pools in the various houses he dwelt in

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were all shaped in the form of pianos. Had they done so, the fountain might have been designed in the form of a tiara.

But somehow fate keeps on happening to Diana, even in death. As Constant Readers doubtless know, the pool quickly became clogged by leaves, algae formed round the sides, children began slipping and sliding, several people knocked their heads on the concrete and had to be hospitalized, there was danger of disease and contamination. Opened with much ceremony (and probably gritted teeth) by the Queen at the end of June, the thing had to be shut down within a month. It was called a storm drain, a cattle trough, and a hole in search of a meaning. Measures had to be taken to roughen the surface for traction and to treat the water against pollution. It was reopened in late August with fencing around it to restrict entry and six staff to insure that visitors could do no more than dip their feet or hands in the water. The £3.6 million tribute to the People's Princess will now be just another puddle in the park.

PC Corner

Offenses against good taste and tradition perpetrated by the PC fascists have multiplied so much that it would take more than this column and several others to chronicle those of this past year alone, so following are just some selected instances.

In Omaha, Nebraska, a white South African-born boy nominated himself for a "Distinguished African-American Student of the Year" prize. He and two friends put up campaign posters on a certain holiday in January (guess which), and all three were immediately suspended. The principal, appropriately surnamed Crook, said the action was — you guessed it — "offensive" and showed "disrespect" to black students. The offending boy, one Trevor Richards, is the only student in the school to have lived in Africa.

It reminds one of the brouhaha last year when the redoubtable Dame Edna Everage joked in an article in *Vanity Fair* that there was no point in learning Spanish: "Who speaks it that you are really desperate to talk to? The help? Your leaf blower?" The outcry was predictably shrill. Dame Edna was predictably unmoved. Good old Dame Edna also remarked elsewhere that parts of Cleveland, Detroit, and Louisville look "a bit like Duesseldorf in 1945." And non PC-ers will be entertained to learn that Dame Edna declined to visit the Getty Museum because the collection was inferior and was "housed in something that looks like a hospital."

Southern Methodist University shut down a bake sale that offered cookies at $1 for white males, 75 cents for white women, 50 cents for Hispanics, and 25 cents for blacks.

CRITICUS NO longer has a note indicating who the investigator was, but he can report that someone went back and looked at that longtime standard textbook study by the eminent historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* and found that in the four editions published between 1930 and 1950 the historians wrote:

> As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its "peculiar institution." The majority of slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, and apparently happy .... Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country, and devoted to his "white folks" .... If we overlook the original sin of the slave trade, there was much to be said for slavery as a transition status between barbarism and civilization.

The passage was dropped in the fifth edition in 1962.

Rather more briefly: There are some Labour Party members of the British Parliament who are agitating to have knighthoods and damehoods abolished and for the replacement of titles containing the term "British Empire" (*e.g.,* Commander of the Order of the British Empire) with "Order of British Excellence." Indeed they want more than a dozen existing honors titles replaced by four. Here's a chance for HRH to strike a blow for history (the Orders of Chivalry date from 1348) by denouncing this plan

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'Let's say that Albert Speer, while leafing through a book on Gaudi, swallowed an overgenerous dose of LSD and began to build a nuptial catacomb for Liza Minelli.'

and reinstituting public hanging for its supporters .... Southern Methodist University in Dallas shut down a bake sale organized by the Young Conservatives of Texas that offered cookies at $1 for white males, 75 cents for white women, 50 cents for Hispanics, and 25 cents for blacks. The sponsors claim that it was only affirmative action in action. SMU meet Trevor Richards.

SILLIER YET: Not content with the government's earlier decision to insist upon calling Bombay "Mumbai," an Indian government railways minister has pronounced that a chain of train station booksellers called A.H. Wheeler & Co, known generally as "Wheeler," must have its contract to run station bookstalls revoked on the grounds that the name is too English. The company, 258 outlets strong, is wholly Indian-owned and was founded by a French author and an Indian businessman in 1877. There has been widespread dismay in India over this action because the name Wheeler is associated by millions of Indians with the romance of rail travel.

Now for some really silly things: The German government is trying to get an Italian winemaker to rename a line of wines that he has been selling since 1997. Most especially the German government want to see the end of "Fuehrerwein" bottles that come with pictures of Hitler and other Nazis and fourteen different slogans, such as "Sieg Heil." Other labels in Alessandro Lunardelli's "historic line" include portraits of such characters as Benito Mussolini and Joseph Stalin. Lunardelli says the labels have been "a great marketing success." Rumor has it that they are available on the Internet.

Never to be outdone, there is always an Anglican Bishop to add to Silly Season hilarity. One such has deplored and called for the banning of what he calls a racist and heretical hymn, "I vow to thee, my country." The hymn, set to music from Gustav Holst's *The Planets,* has a first verse that pledges one's loyalty to one's country "all earthly things above." Its second verse, however, says that there is also another country, clearly Heaven, though not so named, that has no armies and a fortress that is "a faithful heart." It concludes: "And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase, / And her ways are ways of gentleness and all her paths are peace." That verse may stand, says the Bishop of Hulme, evidently so poetically and intellectually challenged as not to realize that the second verse gains its power by saying there is something even higher than country. Will the Bishop change his mind now that it has been pointed out that the hymn was a favorite of Princess Diana's and sung both at her wedding and at her funeral? Probably not, for a self-styled socialist pop singer, fittingly named Billy Bragg (to counterbalance the Bishop's surname of Lowe, making the two sound like a comedy act — Bragg and Lowe, or Lowe and Bragg), has announced that he is rewriting the words to the hymn and will unveil them at a forthcoming Labour Party conference. Can we look forward to something like, "I vow to thee, dear Lenin"? Speaking of socialist heroes, it has recently been established beyond peradventure that Lenin died of syphilis, so, if he hears of this, perhaps Bragg will choose another hero.

We close the PC Corner with an encouraging blow from the other side. Church officials in Santiago da Compostella have been forced by public outrage and outcry to drop their plan to remove an equestrian statue of St. James the Greater from the cathedral there, the third holiest shrine in Christendom. The statue in question depicts St. James, whose miraculously transported body reposes in the cathedral, mounted on a white charger hacking off the heads of Moors beneath his horse's rampant hooves. Understandably, Spain's patron saint is known as St. James the Moor Slayer. The statue remains in place.

R.I.P.

A quick rundown of some interesting notabilities, most of them eccentric, who passed on this year, with special attention at the end to two Critical favorites.

BARON ALEXIS DE REDE, 82, an extraordinary adventurer whose life story reads like something out of a

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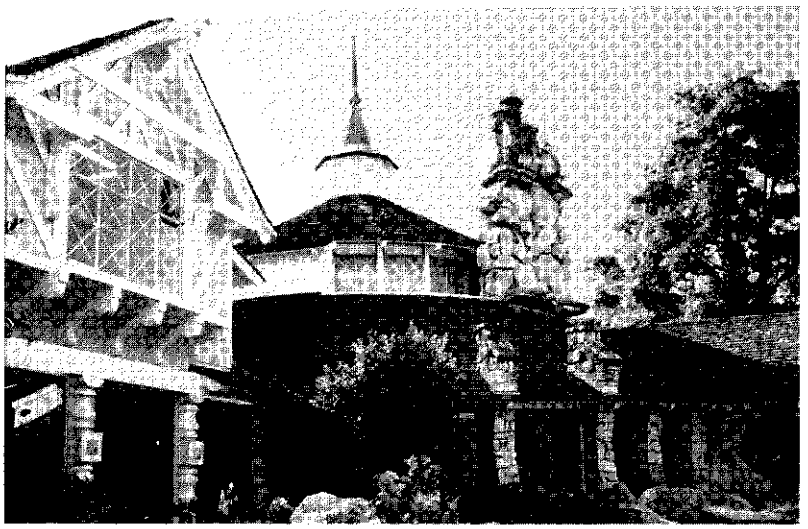
Georgette Heyer novel as updated by a French Jackie Collins. Boy toy of several benefactors of both sexes, De Rede was called by Nancy Mitford "La Pompadour de nos jours." His ultimate claim to fame was restoring and indeed glorifying the luxurious Hotel Lambert on the Ile St. Louis in Paris.

FATHER OSWALD BAKER, 89, leader of British opponents of the Mass from Vatican II who persisted in his resistance to the end and was branded a "sedevacantist," meaning one who believes the see of Peter is vacant on the grounds that a heretical pope automatically loses his office.



The Madonna Inn

QUEEN SUSAN OF THE ALBANIANS, 63, the Australian-born wife of King Leka, claimant to the Albanian throne, son of the deposed King Zog. She was born Susan Cullen-Ward and lived in various locations in exile with Leka. The Australian government did not want to issue her a passport as a Queen (after all, Australia already had a Queen), so they compromised and issued her one as "Susan Cullen-Ward, known as Queen Susan." Sounds a bit like Narnia. She was permitted to be buried in Tirana next to her mother-in-law, Queen Geraldine.

DORIS THOMPSON, 101, a different sort of monarch, known as the Queen Mother of Blackpool, Britain's largest amusement park, long popular with the working class, long considered vulgar by some refined types. Thompson disdained all that and continued to go on all the many rides at the park until well into her nineties, and on her 100th birthday she rode the Spin Doctor ride, more than 120 feet tall.

ULRICH INDERBINEN, 103, the oldest active mountain guide in the world, who climbed the Matterhorn 370 times, served as a ski guide until the age of 95 and a mountain guide until 97. He was seen when he was 95 carrying two sets of skis down the main street of Zermatt. When asked why the second pair, he replied, "They're for my father. He's coming behind me."

ALEX MADONNA, 85, creator of the Madonna Inn in San Luis Obispo, famous for its bizarre architecture and variety of theme suites but most notable for the design in the men's urinal, an eight-foot tall waterfall cascading down over a rock formation set in green tile. The scholar and novelist Umberto Eco described the Inn thusly: "Let's say that Albert Speer, while leafing through a book on Gaudi, swallowed an overgenerous dose of LSD and began to build a nuptial catacomb for Liza Minelli."

SACHA DISTEL, 71, French jazz guitarist and singer of chansons d'amour, at one time engaged to Brigitte Bardot, his recording of "Raindrops Keep Falling on My Head" outsold all others in Britain. But for Criticus the great Distel song is his own composition, "The Good Life" (La belle vie), perhaps the most mordant love-ballad type of song ever created. Widely recorded but most effectively by Tony Bennett, "The Good Life" is that rare popular song that has no real preliminary verse followed by a refrain, only the main statement which in turn is normally sung through only one time. Even more unusual, the words virtually turn upon themselves. By the end the listener realizes that the title itself is ironic.

CRITICUS HAS been unable to ascertain who rendered the English-language version. A French source indicates that the words are by one Jean Broussole, music by Distel; an American source simply credits it as by Jack Reardon and Sacha Distel. I presume that means that Reardon did the translation. The English lyrics have a sadder and to my mind more effective concluding twist than the French. If you don't know it, seek out the Tony Bennett recording. But it should not be trusted to be heard by anyone under thirty; they wouldn't understand.

ALBERTA MARTIN, 97, a sharecropper's daughter and in actual fact the last Confederate widow, indeed, the last widow of a soldier on either side in the War Be-

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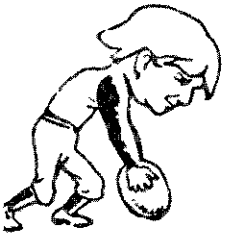
tween the States. She was pre-deceased by a year and half by the last Union widow, Gertrude Janeway, 93, who died in January of 2003. Both were predeceased in 1998 by Daisy Anderson the last widow of a black soldier, one Martin Anderson, a slave who ran away to join the Union army.

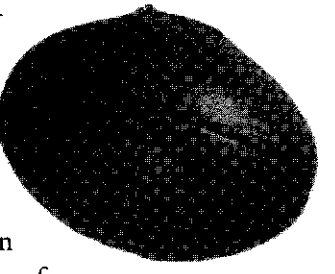
MARTIN, MIZ ALBERTA, as she was known to all, especially the Sons of Confederate Veterans, who carried her about to her delight to various Confederate memorial activities, died on Memorial Day, 2004. At the age of 21 she married the 81-year-old William Jasper Martin, who had fought in an Alabama regiment with Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Incredibly she had a son by Martin, the now 75-year-old Willie, who would be one of the oldest sons of a Confederate veteran, meaning that the line from father to son spans something like 140 years. Miz Alberta asked that at her funeral the song "Beyond the Sunset" be sung and that over the mule-drawn casket the hand-stitched Confederate battle flag she covered her lap with be draped.

Was it Faulkner who said that in the South the past is never really over; it isn't even the past? The closeness in time of the deaths of the last two widows of the Late Unpleasantness as it used to be called bears Faulkner out. More remarkable is that both were Southerners, Miz Alberta from Alabama, Janeway from Tennessee. The War split not only regions but many from the same region. Yet as T.S. Eliot wrote of opponents on different sides in another, earlier civil war: "These men, and those who opposed them / And those whom they opposed / Accept the constitution of silence / And are folded in a single party. / Whatever we inherit from the fortunate / We have taken from the defeated / What they had to leave us — a symbol: / A symbol perfected in death."



A Final Jollity

So as not to end on too sombre a note, Criticus offers you an accidental amusement from no less a source that the current Poet Laureate of England. His name is Andrew Motion, but he had trouble getting into motion when he came to write a poem celebrating the surprise victory of the English rugby team over arch-rival Australia in the Rugby World Cup. It started when he realized that he could not find a rhyme for the surname of the hero of that victory, one Jonny [sic] Wilkinson who scored the winning goal in the very last seconds of the game. To be sure, Stephen Sondheim is on record as saying that there is no word in the English language for which he cannot find a rhyme. That can only be true if one allows a good bit of latitude with at least a few notoriously unrhymable words, such as orange, silver, and purple. Whether Wilkinson is among that number Criticus cannot say, but obviously Motion thinks it so. He therefore decided to write about all the players using only their first names.



A leather rugby ball

The result of Motion's efforts is a piece some have called doggerel and worthy only to be recited in pubs. It is titled "A Song for Jonny." There are merely four verses, but I'll spare you two of them. Bear in mind, in case any readers are in doubt, that in rugby, the father of American football, the ball is oval in shape. Each verse begins "O" followed by the first name of a particular player. Thus, the first verse, "O Jonny the power of your boot / And the accurate heart-stopping route / Of your goal as it ghosts / Through Australian posts / Is a triumph we gladly salute." It goes on in this vein, saluting in the final verse all the players as well as their coach, Sir Clive Woodward.

O forwards and backs you have all
Shown us wonderful ways to walk tall
And together with Clive
You will help us survive
Our losses with other-shaped balls.

The reference, of course, is to British losses in soccer, tennis, and other games invented by the Brits.

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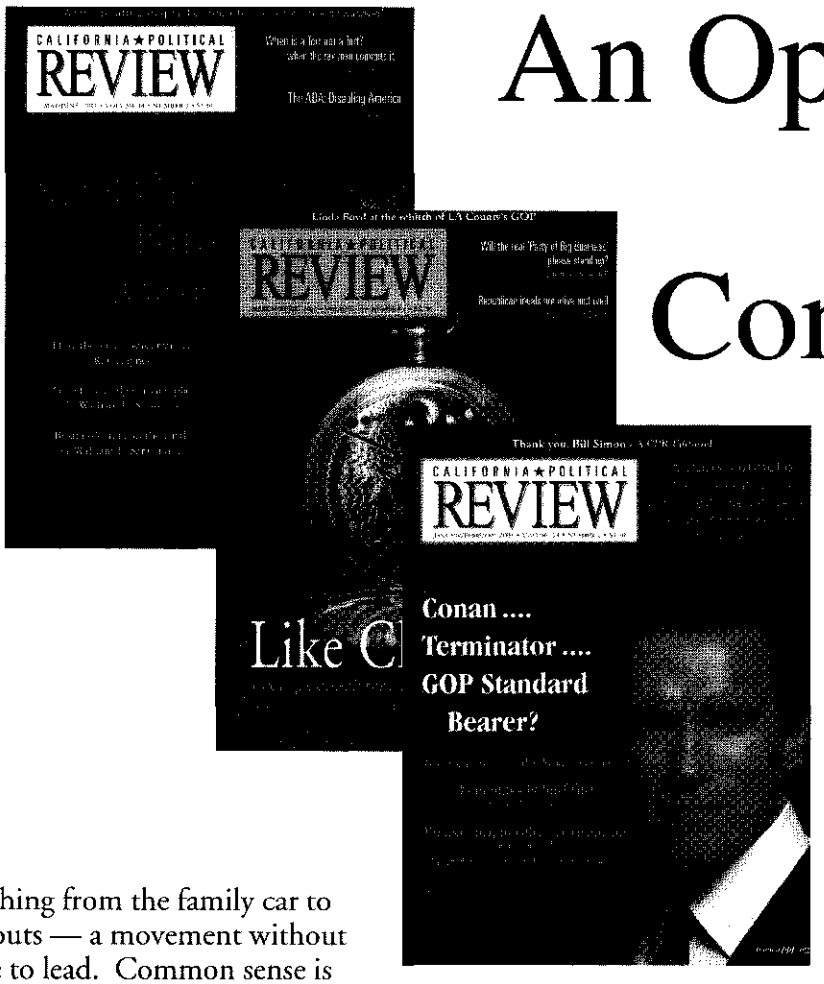
An Opening for Common Sense



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— Irving Kristol

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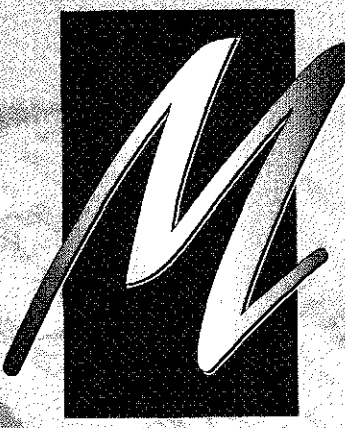

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